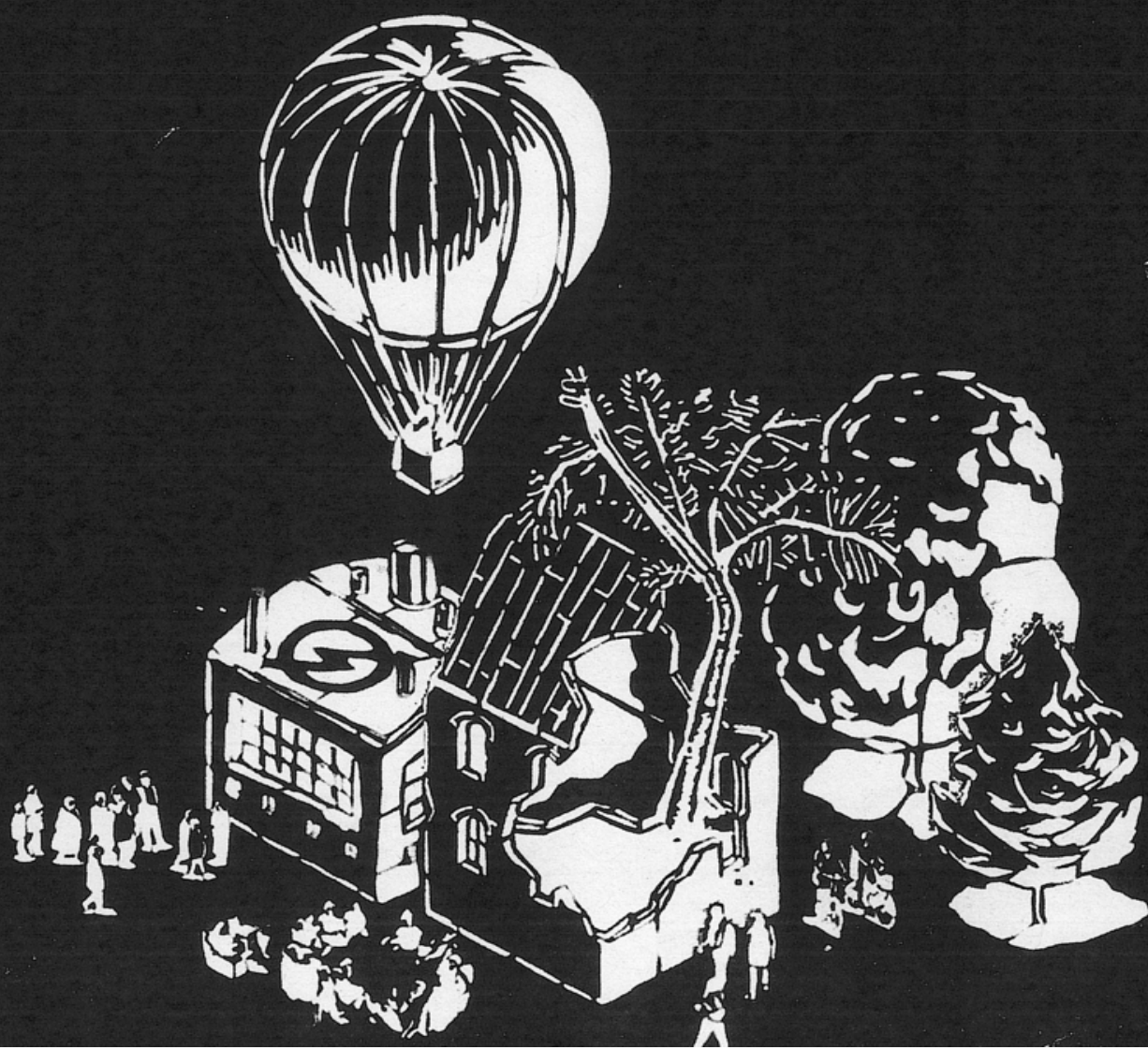
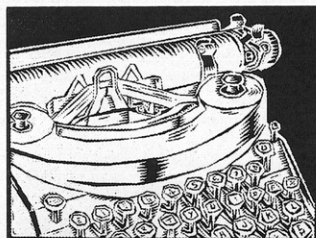




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Thankyou to everyone who submitted articles, images, and energy to a space outside collective and the reader. We created this!

A space outside would like to acknowledge m-city for the graph we have loved and used.
www.m-city.org

The articles in this reader do not necessarily represent the views and opinions of the collective.

This reader is designed to present some of the issues and debates that will be raised at the gathering, A Space Outside – Active Interventions Within, 13th – 19th November, coinciding with the G20 mobilisation in Melbourne.

This will be a chance for activists to discuss radical responses to the current political climate. Militarism, the war on terror, the privatisation of public spaces, and the neoliberalisation of Australian Universities are provoking activist responses and campaigns, but are also providing barriers to activists' capacities to challenge these issues. Workshops will also critically examine governments' linking of aid and development objectives with military strategic and economic objectives. This gathering will provide an opportunity for us to learn more about these political issues, while at the same time reflecting on our methods and strategies for addressing them.

A crucial purpose for this gathering is to explore better ways of organising radical/ revolutionary politics in a way that is relevant in the current political climate. The workshops and forums that will take place at the gathering and the articles in this reader are contributions from people who are working to bring about radical social change. Authors and workshop facilitators are from all over Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and elsewhere.

Much has been learned from experiences of previous summit mobilisations. Many people wish to build on these experiences and to contribute strategies, ideas and praxis not only to future mobilisations, but to everyday life. Questions should be asked about how we organise effectively. We ask these questions not to posture our politics, acquire some kind of subcultural social status or win debates with political 'opponents' on the left. We ask these questions because we are striving to understand our political, economic and social reality, and how to change it for the better. This is not historical revisionisms. This is not motivated by a desire to hark back to some imaginary golden era of Seattle or May '68. Times change. This is a collective attempt by activists to try harder to understand how to bring about positive change in a way that is all-encompassing and not limited to a reformist approach.

We hope that upon leaving the Space Outside gathering, people will feel that our capacity to resist intense forms of capitalist exploitation is increased. We want people to leave inspired to examine how we live our lives and organise in ways that create real and meaningful change.

A SPACE OUTSIDE
ACTIVE INTERVENTIONS WITHIN
NOVEMBER 13th – 19th 2006
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA



We acknowledge the Elders, families and forebears of the Wurrundjeri and Boonwurrung tribes of the Kulin Nation who were and continue to be the custodians of the land on which this publication was produced. We acknowledge that this land is the place of age old ceremonies and celebration, initiation and renewal and that Kulin Nation people's living culture had and has a crucial role in the life of this region.



The following info is crucial reading. If you have a short attention span or wish to be selective about how much of this reader you take it, please read this section.

A SAFER SPACE

(Thanks to the Belladonna Live and Let DIY crew, the Gle-neagles G8 2005 Dissent crew and the Grassroots Gathering Reader compiled in Belfast 2004 for letting us rip off bits from their Safer Spaces Statements and related articles).

We hope that everyone at the Space Outside (ASO) gathering is made aware of the idea of 'safer spaces' (information will be on the website, in the program, displayed around the venue).

We say 'safer' realising that no space can be entirely safe for everyone. Although there is often discourse on 'equality', we realise that not everyone experiences spaces in the same way as others.

Safer spaces are welcoming, engaging and supportive. We want the Space Outside gathering to be a space where people take care of one another. We want people to feel that they can let their hair down and be themselves, knowing that they will be supported.

We are asking people to be proactive in creating a safer space.

People attending ASO are asked to be aware of their language and behaviour, and to think about whether it might be offensive to others. This is no space for violence, for touching people without their consent, for being intolerant of someone's religious beliefs or lack thereof, for being creepy, sleazy, racist, ageist, sexist, heterosexist, transphobic, ablebodied, classist, sizist, or any other behaviour or language that may perpetuate oppression.

What we need to do to create a safer space at ASO:

- Respect people's physical and emotional boundaries
- Always get explicit verbal consent before touching someone or crossing personal boundaries
- Respect peoples opinions, beliefs, differing states of being and differing points of view
- Be responsible for your own action. Be aware that your actions do have an effect on others
- Take responsibility for your own safety and get help if you need it
- Look out for kids at all times and try not to leave anything around that would endanger kids
- The space is drug n alcohol free, and smoke-free

Any individual or group engaging in violence (including sexual violence and harassment) within the convergence community will automatically be excluding themselves. The gathering will be asking them to leave the convergence space. ASO will not knowingly allow sexual perpetrators into the space.

ASO communal sleeping space

We understand that by having a communal sleeping space at

a large convergence, unwanted/non-mutual/non-consensual sexual situations may transpire. The reality of large communal sleeping spaces is that this DOES happen, even if most of us self-identify as having 'good' politics. This needs to be acknowledged and everyone needs to take responsibility for preventing such situations. We are hoping that through making people aware of this safer space policy, having a forum and workshops directed towards sexual assault/consent/positive sexuality/safer spaces and providing wom*ns only sleeping area for those who would like it, we will hopefully reduce the chance of these situations occurring.

CHILL OUT SPACE

It can be intense to be surrounded by old and new friends/lovers in one place; it can be intense to be surrounded by so many people yet barely know anyone and feel alienated or awkward. It can be intense to participate in a week of workshops/gigs/actions/parties/hanging out/barely sleeping.

When you're out of your 'comfort zone' or not in your 'hometown', it is important that you have a space to go when you freak out, feel anxious, feel the pressure of constantly being surrounded by a lot of people, or if you have your boundaries crossed and need to collect your thoughts.

The chill out space will provide a space that people can go to read.

EXAMINING OUR OWN SUBTLE AND NOT-SO-SUBTLE PREJUDICES

If we profess to be concerned about issues of race, gender and sexuality, etc, we need to live our lives in way that pro-actively seeks to subvert prejudice, to undermine the very possibility that someone will feel discriminated against. This means treating people equally and expecting that everyone has something amazing to contribute. It means not being tokenistic. It means not acting awkward around people because you don't know what to say because they are queer or have dark skin. ASO aims to explore/ acknowledge the subtle (and not so subtle) forms of sexism and racism within our own spaces and to tackle them head on.

We may like to think of the ASO space as an 'alternative' space where people reject the prejudices of 'mainstream' Australian values. However activist communities often carry the same prejudices as the so-called mainstream and we all need to address this. We are *part of* this broader society. Our goals should include engaging with others outside of a "radical clique" and relating to all sorts of people in honest, radical, and non-discriminatory ways.

NEED SOME ASSISTANCE

If you experience or witness any behaviour that crosses your boundaries or makes you feel uncomfortable or if you are feeling like you would like to talk to someone anonymously about anything please ask at the front-desk/entrance to the venue. There will also be mobile phone number that you can call at any time. If the matter requires a sensitive listener to help you deal with a situation that was somehow traumatic,

people are around who can play the role of helping you to debrief. There are even a couple of trained counsellors in our circles!

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE BOOT

It is inevitable that there will be conflict in the time that we are occupying the site. This can be an incredibly valuable thing if it is managed in a constructive manner.

We have designed a basic process for dealing with conflict, based around the principle that a resolution deemed positive to all parties involved should always be sought first.

Any conflict arising in the space that at least one party feels cannot be resolved without some help, should seek the assistance of one of the members of the Conflict Resolution Sub-Collective.

The collective is Holly (Syd), Dave (Canberra), Eleven (Melb) Jane (ASO), G (Melb), Erin (ASO), Rodney (Melb), Minch (Melb), Killer (Melb), plus some other people.

Ideally, with the help of this collective, the conflict will be resolved. However, if this fails, then as a last resort, the conflict will be taken to the entire collective to make a final decision on what action needs to be taken.

COPS AND OWNERS

(Thanks to the Affordable Student Housing Collective for allowing us to rip off this next bit).

We hope that on the first day of the gathering, Tuesday 14th, we can have a very brief discussion and reach consensus about how we are going to deal with cops if and when the situation arises that we need to. We prepared the following as a suggested proposal that we can hopefully reach consensus pretty quickly.

1. The most important thing to remember is **DO NOT LET THEM IN UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES**.
2. Tell them that we are in negotiations with the owners, that this is a matter of civil law, and it does not concern the police, thank you very much for assistance constable.
3. **DO NOT** admit to altering the property in any way, and if they ask how you got in, tell them that the door was open.
4. If asked who is in control, tell them that last time you heard it was a mix of George Bush and that Bono, but that they are welcome to talk to you in the mean time, although you cannot make any decisions on behalf of the group, nor can you speak for anybody but yourself.

For more general information about squatters rights, get your hands on a copy of the Melbourne Squatters Guide. There is usually a few lying around and it is an excellent source of information about squatting. If you can't find a copy, it is online at www.geocities.com/squattersguide or www.aspaceoutside.org

ROSTER FOR PRESENCE

There must be people at the space at all times. At any moment the coppers may rock up requesting, amongst other things, a quiet chat with the upstanding citizens. If no one is home, they may decide to let themselves in, make a cup of tea and declare it reclaimed as the Victoria Police social club and initiate a whole new era of Blue Light Disco.

As no one needs to relive their early adolescent experiences of drunken pashing at the Blue Light, we will create a roster system to ensure that there is always at least four or five people at the site.

On the wall there is a list, where everyone lists the times that they intend to be at the space.

Please put yourself on this list. If you notice that there is a blank spot and you can't be there, please try and rope your mates into doin' a stint.

It is a collective responsibility to make sure that we always have a presence at the site.

Thanks for taking the time to read this.



The most radical political act that one can undertake at this point is to see the world as it truly is: a blank page carrying with it all the substance and potential of a canvas, awaiting your conversation with the reality that surrounds you... Desecration of all that is supposedly sacred is the only way in which we may determine the precise nature of the social holding pens in which we find ourselves ensconced. A dedication to this principle of Desecrationism is essential for all those wishing to enter into the fabric of the futures that are not merely possible, but already present.

SIGNS

Signs are far more than mere signifiers. They undertake covert action in subtle fashion, to sanctify and entrench preconceived presumptions within the observer. These rhythms of decoding are known to all who pass through the flux of everyday life. They are the patterns that underwrite the methods of everyday information exchange, placing us in the roles of passive subjects. Thought, feeling and action are dictated by chains of empty words and dead end alleyways of thought. Advertising, catechism, official discourse and ideology are all graveyards of innovation and thought where we remain trapped. We find ourselves groping in the darkness for the bones of our forebears, desperately crying for them to give us whatever cold comfort they may afford.

SOCIETY

The underlying assumptions, which govern our internal and external movement, find clear resonance in the hierarchical regulation of cultural and social life in any civilization. Categorisation processes form regulatory bodies and basic bureaucracy. Our personalities, as we conceive them, are woven from an amorphous repository of easily digestible stereotypes.

IDENTITY

We pick and choose different components of seemingly divergent identities, in order to construct what is supposedly a cohesive social whole or "I."

FREEDOM

What options remain for those of us who seek to proliferate a state of total freedom and utter negation? Our paths are increasingly limited. Only small steps are possible. The first necessary step is a steady and comprehensive process of de-sanctification and desecration. To throw open to question not only taboos and contentious topics, but also to debase and denigrate that which is sacred and unquestionable. The concept of soul. Of spirit. Of separation between the world of emotions and ideas and our supposedly fixed physical reality. What separates us? What unites and divides? Only that which exists in a pure state of imagination. Official fiction and sacred myth must become targets. For these divisions are mere signifiers, and signs signify nothing. Desecrationism is the word which best sums up this belief in the practising of defilement.

ORGANISATION

Social organisation, gender binary and racial distinctions are, at their basest level, simply tools to divide and justify oppression, theft and banditry. Even attempts at radicalism which seek to do away with all known codes of human behaviour are suspect, as they organise their adherents into traditional modes of organization. An Anarchist who burns a red and black flag and a copy of the collected works of Proudhon is one who truly attempts freedom, as they are using the cleansing flame to purge themselves of all notions of preconception of cultural and political thought.

FUTURE

The attempt to steal one's potential by placing it within formally codified templates leads to a sculpting of one's experience, creating a predictable future path. Ideology is the natural enemy of creativity, and there can be no ideology outside of destruction. To destroy these arbitrary cultural fences and perceive the world anew is the ultimate creative act: to draw raw elemental change from disorder and craft dreams and ideals from pure chaos; the destruction; not of language; but of linguistic forms of control.

DECONSTRUCT, RECONSTRUCT

Question the assumptions underpinning the rhythms of everyday life. Craft, superimpose, juxtapose; make connections, and draw conclusions. Free yourself from the pre-conceptions of history and understand that the act of recollection is a mere act of colonising one's memory, and, therefore, one's responses to stimuli encountered in the socio-cultural matrix.

TIME

We do not exist in a linear narrative arc. History and chronology are themselves oppressive concepts, which must be done away with in order to truly understand the ramifications of what can be termed "the human project." Even the year, through which we are currently living, 2006, is contingent upon a narrative that is highly subjective and suspect in terms of its placement in the context of our experience. Far better to create our own signifier of time, or perhaps even a negative signifier. One, which truly encapsulates the abstract state that all humans find themselves within.

In our future, there will be no past. Only the present where we are free to live as we choose and more importantly dream, unencumbered by the rubbish of doctrine, and unbound by the fetters of context. Welcome to Year Zero.

Piers

The structure of our economy forms the basis of social organisation, structuring relationships and the way these are conceived, developed and understood. It provides an imperative around which our lives are organised, determines value and power relations, establishes frameworks of communication and self-thought, ways of perceiving others in relation to the self; defined and limited ways of thinking and being.

Neo-liberal capitalism is an individualistic ideology – the individual is a self-sufficient economic unit, producing goods or providing skills for private profit, consuming goods and services for personal enjoyment and satisfaction. The social body of our society is disconnected. This relationship between producer and consumer is distant, impersonal. The individual earns the benefits of her own success; carries the responsibility of his own failure – social relationships are inessential beyond the pursuit of profits and their exchange for material fulfilment.

Interpersonal relationships in capitalist society is indirect, realised through the mediation of things. The creation and exchange of commodities is the primary purpose for our communications and networks. Everything is saleable, tradeable – even the bonds that we establish with others. Relationships become commodities also, valued for their relative costs and benefits – tolerable, useful, or perhaps barriers, even threats to our private ambitions – to be kept or traded in response.

Social relations are delegated to the private and the personal; deemed alienable, fundamentally disconnected from and inessential to the achievement of all other needs and goals. Where work must be constantly undertaken, social engagement is another demand on time and energy, and must become more artificial; manufactured, short-term, casual. Passive material activity replaces active community involvement as the central occupier of leisure time. The community has been replaced by a mass consumer culture, faceless and fragmented.

Capitalism is predicated on a discourse of scarcity, even as it encourages endless, accumulative growth. It suggests that capital, and its derived benefits, are limited, and hence cannot be amassed evenly, endlessly, by all – capitalism depends on there not being enough for everyone. The accumulation of capital is determined by supply and demand: market forces encourage the movement of goods – food, cars, toilet paper – to areas where people can afford to pay more them, under the guise of the pursuit of the “efficient” allocation of resources.

Relations are reduced to perpetual competition – people must continually grapple for capital, for “things” which are of limited supply; pushing and stomping and cheating and lying in their struggle to have, to use, to own, to look at. As a system of private ownership and individual profit, collectivity is cast aside – what remains is antithetical to love, friendship, mutual and egalitarian respect. Instead, capitalism produces coercion, deception, suspicion, poor communication.

Social organisation becomes hierarchical – someone must always have more. Inevitable inequality breeds jealousy, division, conflict. Economic hierarchies exist at all levels of society: between states, within states, in the family, among friends. Capitalism creates a way of thinking in which all other factors of life become competitive, a field in which to pursue and maintain constant binaries of domination and submission. We do so in the workplace, the school, the sports field, the bedroom. Trying to possess the most “things”; be the most educated; the prettiest; the most admired; the most charitable; the funniest; the most alternative – to be better, and more, and better, and more. We are taught that we must provide for the self at the expense of others, and then work to protect our staked out position at all costs. Individuals learn to fear the “theft” of their “things”, the “invasion” of their space; and then to fear each other, to hate each other. The oil-abundant land mass, the threatening refugee who comes to steal jobs, the black person who comes to corrupt lifestyles, the traditional occupants of our land who might try to reclaim what we have taken, the friend who looks better in the dress.

We learn that to have value, we must be superior to others; that we can only define ourselves in relation to others, at the expense of others – a sort of scarcity economy of the self. And so we devalue others, through whatever means we have available. We must distinguish ourselves by the colour of our skin, the way that we dress, or the way we behave. In doing so, we alienate “the other”, dissociating ourselves from those we can define as beneath us, be they countries, races, communities, or individuals, in an attempt to validate our self-worth. At the same time we refuse ourselves a truer understanding of our own identity; of who we are as ourselves, rather than who we are in not being others.

Our relationships are littered with rivalry, resentment, hostility; on every scale, from the local to the global, the state to the person on the side of the road. At best, we consign ourselves to a truce of mutual dissociation and ignorance, erecting hard, impenetrable borders between ourselves, to protect ourselves, our things, our identities.

Capitalism is divisive, antagonistic. It keeps us passive, self-interested, and wary. It establishes a form of divide and conquer rule, mitigating against our desire to unite in collective solidarity, discouraging us from initiating any form of joint resistant action. Instead, we remain alien, lonely, and perpetually unsatisfied; individual producers and/or consumers, trying to purchase our pain away – preferably before anyone else is can do the same.

We can break these systems down. If we join hands in solidarity; in mutuality and respect, with recognition of common interests as the basis for deep connections among diverse communities, we can actively establish collectively organised communities and networks worldwide, choosing to acknowledge and respect diversity and difference as central values. In offering each other mutual support, working together towards

common goals, and establishing free and open communication that is uninhibited, positive, and non-hierarchical, we can create systems of social and economic organisation in which all are equally respected as whole persons, each part of a great, collective sum. We can recognize that the power of the individual is dependent on the health, wellbeing, and collectivity of the whole; that our problems are diverse and interconnected, that our capacities to subsist; to survive; to act, achieve, become, are brought into existence, expanded and multiplied through our participation in a diverse, broad, and wide ranging collectivity, that encompasses people of all ages, races, abilities and backgrounds; friends, families, and strangers.

Direct action provides a space in which to develop such alternative forms of social organisation and relationships, at the same time as we are advocating for them. The common context of particularist struggle against neo-liberal capitalism, and all forms of domination and exploitation which flow from it, provides a common target against which various groups can converge, collectively working towards a common goal, whilst acknowledging the diverse perspectives and aims which such a struggle encompasses.

Solidarity and collectivity not only strengthens our protest, broadening our resistance and working to overcome neo-liberalism's divide and rule tactics, but in organising around a particularist struggle, we are laying the foundations for a wider system of collective social organisation to emerge. Convergence spaces are spaces of inclusion, and by participating directly together in militant action, we are networking and breaking down the barriers we have erected between ourselves, in direct opposition to the exclusionary nature of capitalist structures. Horizontality is not only a model, but a practice – there are no hierarchies, and no sign-up lists; there should be no physical barriers to participation.

Direct action provides a space for furthering the process of globalisation from below. In coming together in the same space, we meet others from diverse backgrounds and perspectives, establishing networks and learning with many different people, voices, ideas and identities; not as “others” but in both individuality and commonality, with the principles of autonomy, equality and mutual respect at the centre of our organised interactions. Opportunities emerge for actual communicative links to be established between individuals and communities across the global, linking local issues and struggles with those that are global and collective. A space is created in which all can have their own voice, in which no one “representative” can claim to speak for – and therefore silence – any other. Organising around a particularist struggle allows us to develop the knowledge and framework for the creation of lasting communities and meaningful friendships, and the development of skills and ideas that lay the foundations for future change, one action at a time.

Establishing an alternative, inclusive, non-hierarchical form of social organisation and community requires ensuring that the movement is open and accessible enough to encourage people

from diverse backgrounds and broad perspectives to become involved; and making sure we are actively resisting capitalism and its institutions, rather than fighting amongst ourselves.

While the autonomous organising movement is open and inclusive in rhetoric, at the moment it seems that it most often becomes a largely white, university educated movement in reality, which can be quite difficult to get involved in, depending on your situation and contacts. If you are already active in activist circles, perhaps it is easy to get involved in actions and organising, and to learn and develop knowledge about issues in conjunction with others, becoming a part of the community you want to achieve on a global scale. But what if you aren't?

For me, involvement in actions and autonomous organising is a pretty new experience. And yet I've been able to participate directly in organising around the g20 in November, despite coming from social circles that are completely disconnected from activist spheres. But I'm a university student. I did already know what the g20 was; I'd studied the effects of trade liberalisation; I was familiar with the anti-neo-liberal globalisation movement. And at university, I was lucky enough to meet someone, entirely by chance, who was already involved in a collective that was organising around the g20 summit, and who could invite me along and provide me with an opportunity to get involved.

If I wasn't at university, I probably wouldn't have gotten involved at all. If I hadn't been in an environment in which I might have read or heard about the g20, maybe I wouldn't have even known what it was. Or, perhaps, my only knowledge of the g20 and what it does or can do would have come from campaigns like Make Poverty History, that are extremely accessible, public, and easy to participate in. If I didn't frequent places or institutions in which I might have chanced upon someone who was involved in autonomous organising, would I have even been aware of the existence of the collective of which I am now a part? Or would the extent of my knowledge have been a short news item about [violent] protestors on television on November 20th?

Assuming one does somehow become aware of summit meetings, their significance, and autonomous direct actions, convergence spaces, and/or organising collectives, getting involved can be extremely daunting – even for someone like me, a young, inexperienced, yet moderately informed and university educated, white girl. The size of the movement means that in most places, everyone involved in these sorts of actions knows each other, and is part of the same circles. And so then it becomes like joining any new friendship circle anywhere – collectives can seem exclusive, and if you aren't that confident in social situations, maybe you would be put off becoming involved at all.

Meetings can be really alienating as well, particularly if you don't feel like you have the knowledge or experience to be able to make a useful contribution. It isn't easy to participate if you don't quite understand the nature of autonomous

organising, the meeting structure, or the language that is used – whether it be the terms that are used that have developed in autonomous organising movements and academic literature; educated white people's english; or both. It takes a lot of confidence to speak up in a room in which perhaps you feel the least educated, and if maybe you feel like an outsider, whether it is because you don't know anyone and others do, or you don't quite understand what is going on, or you are not a white westerner who feels completely at ease in a room full of people who communicate from a similar perspective and experiential/cultural background to you.

We need to find some way of balancing the need to make autonomous movements more open and accessible with the need to avoid compromising our politics and the nature of the organising process, broadening the movement and encouraging more diverse involvement and awareness without watering down our political standpoints, subscribing to hierarchical education, or "recruiting". We need to find a way of communicating issues and ideas to people beyond the university environment, or academic and activist spheres, while maintaining diversity and direct participation, and without falling into representative organising structures. Because without broader dialogue we run the danger of merely talking to ourselves, radicalising only a core group of activists rather than establishing the global, radically democratic community of networks we purport to be working towards. Or worse, degenerating into constant in-fighting and debate about the relative merits of tactics, rather than living out our solidarity rhetoric to actually pose a substantial, resistance and challenge to neo-liberal capitalism.

If we can't find a way to extend discussion and involvement beyond circles of people that are already at least somewhat involved or knowledgeable, we will never pose a challenge to campaigns like Make Poverty History. We pretty much stand aside and allow Make Poverty History, LiveAid, and the like to become the only visible point of widespread "protest", thereby de-legitimising our more radical resistance and denying ourselves audiences that may be inclined to listen, take note, and get involved in direct action and autonomous organising themselves. Furthermore, we can't strive towards mutually respectful diversity and difference in our communities and networks if we do not find a way to encourage a greater presence of non-white communities in actions and convergence spaces, and, importantly, in all areas of the organising process, rather than simply in actions or areas that relate to indigenous issues, immigration, race, and so on.

We need to determine in what form this movement of movements exists – or, perhaps more importantly, in what ways it is or can be made, open and accessible to people that have been previously uninvolved – in the absence of a direct particularist struggle to ground it in a space. Direct action and mobilisation around particular events or goals is an excellent opportunity through which to engage broader groups of people. But if we really do want to create lasting forms of social organisation that counteract the effects of capitalism on human relations and communities, we need to be able to

extend social organising beyond particularist struggles – we need to be able to rely on ourselves and on each other, rather than simply on the institutions of capitalism to give us a reason to organise, network, and establish collective relationships with solidarity as their basis.

Ani t.

RANDOM THOUGHTS...

LEVITATE THE PENTAGON?

On 15 October, 1967, the class clowns of the anti-war movement in the United States, the Yippies, led by Abbie Hoffman, led 50,000 people to an 'Exorcism of the Pentagon'. They had announced their intent to, by means of their combined psychic energy, levitate the Pentagon and exorcise it of the evil spirits that were killing Americans and Vietnamese people thousands of miles away.

The Pentagon was protected by more than 2500 Army troops and US Marshals. As the group surrounded the Pentagon and began chanting 'Ommmmmm', the US Marshals moved in and began arresting demonstrators. A photograph taken at that demonstration was to become a symbol of the American anti-war movement. The photograph showed a protester putting a daisy into a police officer's gun.

The addition of flowers to readied weapons was the order of the day. While a total of 681 demonstrators were arrested, others continued to approach the soldiers and put flowers in the barrels of bayoneted M-14 rifles. One girl, dancing as she approached the soldiers, kept asking 'Will you take my flower? Please do take my flower. Are you afraid of flowers?'

The Pentagon didn't move noticeably.

LAUGH?

50,000 Indian farmers from the Southern state of Karnataka spent an entire day laughing outside the State Government offices. The government collapsed the following week.

This is a short string of words on the use of shields to resist being overpowered by police and other authorities. Many direct actions are broken up by the police, using extreme amounts of force. What if it were possible to strengthen the ability to resist this force? I'm not talking about "returning fire", but about building up stronger defence mechanisms. There are an almost infinite number of methods that could be used, but only a couple will be mentioned here. They need to be as portable as possible for maximum flexibility and effectiveness - they need to be light but strong.

SHIELDING:

This can be seen as just a strengthening of our bodies. I heard a story from a friend about a time they were at an underground rave in England. The police turned up after a short while, and the ravers then encircled the police and moved them off the site. The police were then forced to stand aside and just watch. I also saw a shield (made from the side of a rubbish bin) being used at one of the Woomera actions, but this seemed to be used in isolation and I'm not sure of the effectiveness. This story and observation got me thinking about the use of shields to strengthen a protest or resistance action.

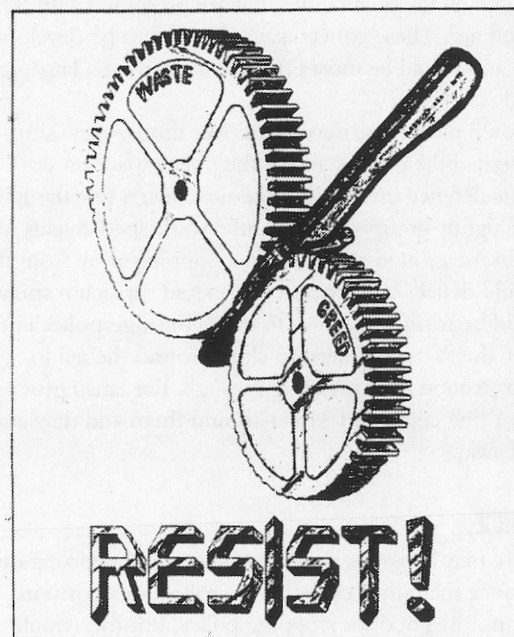
How would the large scale use of shielding change the dynamics of an action? Would the police use greater force against this defence? Are there any benefits to increasing the ability to resist? I think yes to all, but I think it is best to be more robustly equipped, than without.

Let me just share a few design thoughts with you. I think there are three main design considerations; weight, cost, and strength. The weight needs to be kept to a minimum so that it is comfortable, can be used for long periods of time, and carried without tiring the user. It needs to be strong enough to withstand a direct baton whack, without splintering and cracking to reduce injury to the user. It needs to be as cheap as possible to make it available to the largest number of people. I have seen the use of both polycarbonate plastic and timber/cane by police forces, this would give a good starting point as to a material to use.

WHEELIE BINS:

The use of wheelie bin plastic would be good, but there are only two sizes available, and they are tapered to one end. This would provide a weakness that could easily be penetrated. The taper could be removed, but this may make the shield too narrow for some users. There would also be a risk associated with having to look around the shield to see what was going on. This would make the user very vulnerable to getting

whacked. This design could be improved by the placement of a small window in the face of the shield which could be covered with a tough one or two millimeter clear plastic, attached to the outside (to reduce the risk of it being pushed in). Another worrying aspect is the slight curve in the plastic at the edge (this wouldn't be a problem if the taper was cut off). This curve would provide someone seeking to break the defences with a better grip to pull at the defence. This design would meet all of the main design criteria, but may put the user at greater risk of harm.

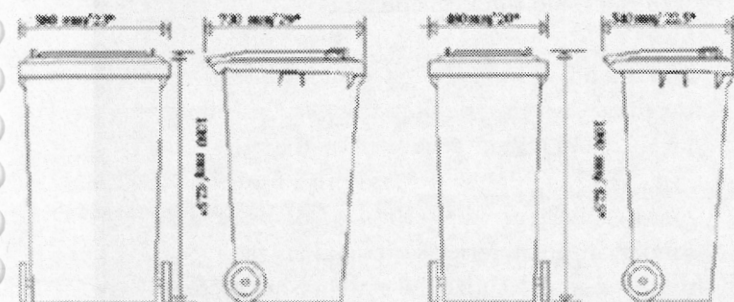


CANE/TIMBER:

Cane may be more difficult to acquire than timber, but even if it could be sourced I would be very cautious because it would need to be in strips, and a baton could easily penetrate this. Timber can be found at many building sites in the suburbs and in the city. However, although the use of an all timber design would be quite sturdy and robust, it would also be prohibitively heavy. I wouldn't like to carry it around for half a day. It may be desirable to use in a more stationary environment. The use of this material would also allow the penetration of liquids, including water and capsaicin spray.

HYBRID:

The use of both timber and plastic, in my opinion, would provide the best option. However, it may be slightly more expensive. The use of light but strong timber would be ideal, such as that skinny timber you get with the old futon bases. The timber should be spread out along the length to reduce the weight, but the gaps between the timber shouldn't be more than the width of the timber. To increase visibility and to develop a resistance to liquids, it would be suggested that a layer of thick durable plastic be mounted to the faces of both sides of the shield. This design would mean that it was flexible, and to make it more discrete to carry, it could simply be rolled up. To transform the roll into a shield it would be necessary to attach solid eyehooks or other sturdy loops into the top and bottom of each piece of timber.



ROLLING RESISTANCE

a timber or other solid rod through each of the holes. If eyehooks were used, it would be slightly raised from the rear face, which would allow the rod to be used as a handle.

ULTIMATE DESIGN:

The ultimate design may be none of the above, but can only evolve after much trial and error. The above words only represent a theoretical description, and I'm sure many improvements could be made if this defence mechanism was selected. I think it is about time we start using and experimenting with all the possibilities that are presented with this type of defence. These concepts would need to be developed over time and would be most effective if used on a large scale.

Tactics would need to be developed over time as new situations presented themselves and as the police work on ways around this defence mechanism. Here are just a few thoughts:

A row of tightly grouped and slightly overlapped shields with one end on the ground and the other slopping away from the threat would deflect both water cannon and capsicum spray.

A 'V' could be formed in order to break through police lines, the end of the 'V' would need to close around the tail to provide protection after breaking through. For small groups of police, a ring could be formed around them and they could be moved away.

TYRE DEFENCE:

While there may be issues in getting these to an appropriate location, once there they can easily be rolled into position. They may not be good for stopping police, but they would provide a good obstacle. The best use of a tyre defence would be to block a road. They can be used horizontally or vertically, and there are plenty of places to find tyres that are no longer needed. To build a roadblock, the tyres would need to have pre-drilled holes in the face of the tyre. Then, once on site, it is just a matter of putting a bolt or two through some adjoining holes and tightening as much as possible. A whole chain of tyres could be made in this way, and then each end could be bolted to something more solid on the side of the road. If shutting down the inner city roads were a desirable outcome, then a number of these tyre links on a handful of the major roads would be hugely effective. However, because of the weight and length of the tyre chain, they would be awkward to move and use up resources.

-Tony S.



ADVANCED BILLBOARDING

(Courtesy of Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey-Wrenching)

Engaging in propaganda/ psychological warfare is a good way for the monkeywrencher to not only present her message to the public, but also to cause sleepless nights for the black-hearted bosses, developers, subdividers, gutless politicians, sleazy advertisers, and others. Besides the well-known act of cutting down billboards, other equally entertaining ideas can leave the evil ones sweating and sleepless in their beds.

Billboards and other targets can be "painted" by the following simple method:

From a large paint supply store or hardware store, buy a gallon of a common brand of oil-based house paint and a gallon of paint thinner. Select a light color for dark targets and vice versa. Mix a 50/50 batch of paint and thinner (assures maximum spatter)

Eggs are very effective paint bombs. Insert a needle in the top of a large raw egg, gently breaking away a small amount of shell, and then stir up the yolk and white. Poke another hole in the same end of the egg, about an inch from the first hole. Blow through the second hole so that the yolk and white come out the first hole. Have an omelet! Pour your paint/thinner mixture into a thin-nozzled, screw-top bottle (such as tomato sauce comes in at restaurants). Seal the second hole in the egg with a pasty mixture of flour and water, or candle wax. Pour in the paint through the first hole and seal it. You now have a perfect-sized, semi-biodegradable missile.

Another proven spattering technique uses a pressurized water-type fire extinguisher. Empty out the contents and relieve all of the pressure inside. Next, open the top and use a funnel to pour in a well-stirred 50/50 blend of paint and thinner or the preferred water and acrylic-type house paint. Pressurize the extinguisher secretly at a gas station; watch the pressure gauge to know when to stop. Use this spray gun to deface billboard ads. Do not attempt to cover the sign face, but make the most of your paint. Clean the extinguisher out after each use or it will clog up.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN OUR "COMMUNITY"

A note from space outside collective:

This article critiques the ideas and discourses that can lead to sexual violence within activist, anarchist, autonomous and socialist communities. It is written specifically in relation to violence perpetrated against wom*n by men. If this reader only focussed on violence perpetrated against wom*n by men, we would run the risk of failing to adequately address violence in gay and queer relationships, and violence perpetrated by wom*n against men. Rather than modify this particular author's contribution to examine non-hetero relationships, this reader includes other articles on the issue of violence in queer relationships.

Please refer to the safer space statement at the beginning of this publication for assistance and further information.

So we're the good guys. We've never raped. We haven't beaten our girlfriends. But do we look the other way as our friend tries to get that hot brunette drunk? Do we turn up the radio when the guy in the dorm room next door starts shouting at his girlfriend again? Do we laugh at the one about the blonde secretary giving oral sex to her boss? Do we doubt accusations of rape and abuse, not based on the facts of the case, but because "He's a nice guy who wouldn't do something like that"? Have we examined our own views of women and sexuality? Do we challenge other men who joke about their latest "conquests" or look at sex as a game, determined to score by whatever means necessary?

In other words, do we encourage those factors that lead to rape? Do we challenge them? Or do we simply not think about it? The mistaken belief that rapists and abusers are drunk, sociopathic, and different from the rest of us is a myth that allows sexual violence to continue.

http://www.xyonline.net/Us_and_them.shtml

When a guy who has been repeatedly brutalized by police officers in order to "prove a point" can't think of one instance when he has even risked conflict in a friendly conversation to bring sexual violence into scrutiny, you know it's a problem.

From "Objections to Objectification" Cameron Bustamante
<http://www.xyonline.net/objections.shtml>

The question of how to deal collectively, constructively with the question of sexual violence has had me thinking. I don't know if I have any answers, but here are some thoughts.

I read an excellent article in the women's edition of the student newspaper at UTS – "Vertigo" a couple of weeks ago (I think this has been reprinted in "Mutiny") about sexual pressure and sexual violence framed in political terms. It focussed on the use of politics as sexual pressure "hey baby – shed your bourgeois pretensions and get into my pants" – type of thing. Pathetic but true. My favourite line was from a member of the Brunswick Men's Club to a mate of mine (one of the few women in the anarchist community attending these meetings – hence the name): the community has needs.

Well yes, it seems the community has needs. Not just the anarchist community either. My experience with socialist tendencies in Australia (particularly the IST – ISO and Soc

Alt.) has been just as disturbing in terms of attitudes to sexual violence and gender relations more broadly. I can't tell you how many times I've heard the line about how we all live under capitalism and we can't expect that people in our community will behave perfectly – this is a classic response to women who have raised questions about how to get gendered oppression within our own circles discussed and acted upon – about resisting the privatisation and shame around sexual violence that allows it to be perpetuated.

I've been re-reading an article called "Rape, Pornography and Capitalism", by Sheila McGregor – an article written by a Socialist Workers Party UK member and dutifully reprinted and studied in the colonies by IST parties. I think I finally understand why it is I have a problem with it. It's something about the analysis of the community having needs and how porn can fulfil those needs.

"Rape, Pornography and Capitalism" is concerned with debunking the argument that pornography has a relationship to rape, embodied best in the slogan – "Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice". But of course, it has a broader agenda than that – the article, like all IST articles on women's liberation/women's oppression, is about reminding us that women are strongest in the workplace where they can be organised in unions, etc, etc. And secondly, it makes the argument that a focus on violence against women is a sign of a rightward shift in feminist thinking because it focuses on personal rather than economic relations. I reckon that this argument highlights a conceptualisation of capital as simply an economic relationship, one obvious at the point of production only. And it also is pretty shithouse if you're interested in a form of resistance to capital that doesn't involve having your struggle mediated out of existence by your union boss. And what about unemployed women? Are lumpen proletariat or unemployed gals asking for it? I think not.

It is the lack of understanding of capital as a social relation, of capital as a relation that is and attempts to be constitutive of our very beings and the way we relate to each other, that enables the IST to frame an extraordinary argument about pornography and rape that essentially boils down to re-privatising the question – making the political personal again. Let me make it clear: I'm not interested in censorship, nor am I anti-sex. However, I think that to ignore the role of images of women as objects to be possessed, controlled and purchased, in the creation of sexual subjectivities in the service of alienation and capitalism is just plain stupid. To ignore the fact that mainstream porn and sexist advertising plays a role in alienating people from their bodies and from their own desires, and perpetuating woman as commodity just means that we end up having the same dull conversation about women organising in unions as the only way to fight back. And it is a dull conversation, because it doesn't provide any clues for understanding what the fuck is going on with the resurgence of sexist advertising, so-called "raunch culture" and shops like Dangerfield selling faux school girl dresses with images of a woman on all fours on the back. What the fuck? It doesn't enable us to understand what the circulation of these images of women

actually means for our socialisation, or our capacity to understand how women in hijab have become passive objects about whom women who actually call themselves feminists debate about, not with, it doesn't enable us to understand the gender politics of Cronulla, and the return of the white man's fear of foreigners touching "his" women. It doesn't enable us to understand how sexual violence in supposedly left-wing communities happens and is justified, or how it can possibly be tackled without separatism or vigilantism or other forms of idiocy.

I've been reading about attitudes to porn on the International Sex Workers Union website – sex workers are involved in the production of porn, and sex workers are increasingly demanding that the work they do is recognised as work, that should be regulated (re: health and safety) and legitimised. I agree with and support all these things and I think it's incredibly important not to elide a critical analysis of porn with a bad attitude towards sex workers. Nor am I making an argument for censorship. The models and sex workers behind these images don't control them any more than you or I control our working lives and the product of our labour. I don't buy the argument put forward on their website that porn prevents rape – although the IUSW does put forward an interesting theory that censored porn is a lot more formulaic, boring and body-fascist than hardcore porn.... I said interesting, not convincing.

What requires understanding is the purpose that these images serve and how they affect women's perceptions of their own autonomy, and men's understanding of the same. (But I do recommend having a look at their policies and interviews for a different perspective <http://www.iusw.org>)

-I think porn and sexist advertising (and increasingly, mainstream videos games like Grand Theft Auto 3 that allow you the "thrill" of fucking a sex worker and then killing her and getting your money back) have a profound effect in terms of alienating men from women in particular and popularising violence against women and the image of women as commodities.

According to the survey by Access Economics for the Federal Office of the Status of Women, domestic violence is the biggest single health risk factor for women aged between 15 and 44. And the biggest single cause of early death or disability in women. So, whilst sexual violence is still portrayed by McGregor as a minority occurrence, it's obvious that the attitudes that produce these statistics are pretty fucking pervasive. The link between sexual violence and broader types of domestic violence is not that hard to draw.

Autonomy – this seems to me the easiest way to frame discussions about sexual violence in a way that self-appointed leftist guys will understand. What I have learnt from recent discussions about incidents of sexual assault is the obsession with establishing innocence – something that shocked me when discussing this within left circles. Men seem to have no trouble understanding stranger rape – the least common kind.

If a guy breaks into a woman's bedroom, beats her senseless and rapes her, we can understand this as assault and violence. However, the most common forms of rape, those that happen within relationships, are apparently more complicated.

What I have discovered is that some people seem to actually think there is a point at which a woman gives up autonomy over her own body. Rape is apparently more complicated if you've got your clothes off, you've gone to a certain point and then you decide to go no further and say no, and he doesn't stop. Thereafter there is an obsession with establishing details. At what point did you say no? Were you already naked? How many times did you say no? Have you fucked him before? Come off it! Is there a magical point at which saying no doesn't matter? Do men in our community think that there is a point at which consent has been signed over and you can't go back? I think that they do. I think there are men in our community who preach autonomy, but don't actually think it is a right that women have at all times – that it is somehow conditional.

Sexual violence is both the logical extension and the enforcement mechanism of the commodification of women and the instrumentalisation of human relationships to the needs of commodity exchange – like the restriction of abortion rights and the legal rights of queer couples, it is a reminder that all things including human relationships and human bodies are reducible to their productive capacity or status as commodity. Women's bodies are primarily sites of reproduction or objects for consumption. Objectification and the production and circulation of images of women helps to keep women alienated from their own bodies, and men beholden to the idea that they have an inalienable right to women's bodies to meet their needs, and that they have the right to exercise authority over women's bodies. It is all very well to say, as McGregor does, that porn is unrealistic because "In real life many women stop sexual assaults from being completed, as I have shown above. Nor do women enjoy such assaults. The difference between the imagery and real women is crucial, as is the difference between being a passive viewer and an active rapist. Real women try to control what men do to them and, in the main, real men respond."

"Real women" also consume images of themselves as passive, sexually available, and are also confused about their right and capacity to say no. Porn and sexist advertising are not just consumed by men. They are consumed by women and they frame our own understandings. The assertion of autonomy is difficult even if men don't use violence – emotional manipulation to gain consent is particularly effective in an intimate or previously intimate relationship. And does it not seem reasonable that a woman who is less physically powerful than a man might make the calculation that just waiting until it's over is going to do you less physical harm than fighting him off?

Dealing with sexual violence in our community means refusing privatisation. And it means resisting the perfectly understandable temptation towards vigilantism and just expelling

people from "our community". If we can't work on changing the ideas of people in our own community rather than just expelling them from it, then we might as well stop attempting to change our lives or our world in any other way. It means talking about it publicly. This is going to be difficult for many women who have experienced it, and it seems it is also pretty confronting for men. It means supporting women who come forward about it, and men talking about how they can assist other men to come to a position of fully supporting women's autonomy over their own bodies. It is pretty clear that plenty of men do not necessarily understand what it means to refuse to respect a woman's right to say no. That it has devastating consequences for a woman's perception of herself as autonomous. We talk about sexual violence amongst ourselves as women – but we clearly aren't getting the message to men about what sexual violence is, what it means and how we can work on changing the attitudes of ourselves and others to support women's autonomy.

Anyway – why am I writing this? Gentlemen – get your shit together. There are resources and support available for men who want to stop violence against women. If you don't know where to start, check out the HUNDREDS of websites about this stuff with links to men's organisations and email lists that are available at this links page:

<http://www.xyonline.net/links.shtml#2>

And be accountable to the ladies while you're doing it – it's manners.



A "community response to sexual assault" is what happens when radical/alternative communities don't necessarily want to work with the cops and the courts, but DO want to seriously address issues around sexual assault in their community. This can involve working with perpetrators, supporting survivors, engaging in discussion about personal boundaries/space issues/consent/positive sexuality. This type of information is not easy to track down and it's easy to feel like you're entering unprecedented territory – so the role of zines to compile and share information and experiences on this topic is crucial. This workshop will outline some of the resources available, and will include a panel discussion from people who have experience using zines in this context.

ZINE RESOURCES

Dympna House Resources

Counseling line (02)9797 6733 or 1800 654 119. PO Box 22 Haberfield, NSW 2045

Child sexual assault services, publishes lots of resources for survivors of child sexual assault and their parents. Also resources for indig community.

How To Mend A Broken Wing

www.mayumarri.com

Published by Mayumarri healing centre run by survivors of child sexual assault for survivors of child sexual assault. Glossy pamphlet aimed at 'teens', talking a lot about healing & info on the centre & camps.

Transforming A Rape Culture (book)

www.milkweed.org

Includes 28 essays around rape culture, activism and visions for the future. Has broad spectrum of cultural, feminist and community perspectives.

Consent

phillystandsup@safe-mail.net,

phillyspissed@safemail.net

2 page pamphlet by Philly's Pissed and Philly Stands Up, two radical groups working with survivors and perpetrators respectively.

Men Unlearning Rape

www.olymedia.manhost.org/zinelibrary.htm – free PDFs

from this online zine library

Discussion on workshops run by "Men Stopping Rape" talking with men about rape culture, patriarchy & homophobia

Not Without My Consent! Asshole

www.olymedia.manhost.org/zinelibrary.htm – free PDFs

from this online zine library

Perzine about consent, including creative writing, poetry and personal stories

Support

Microcosm Publishing PO Box 14332 Portland OR USA 97293

(Compiled by Cindy who does Doris zine) About supporting people who have been sexually assaulted, taking care of yourself, consent, listening, sex & relationships, triggers etc..

Fuck And Paste

lisascreama@yahoo.com

New Zealand zine with resources and writings about consent, support and isolation

Speak Out #1

PO Box 180 Eugene OR USA 97440

Collection of personal stories intended to break the silence around rape. The intent is to give support to the rage that naturally comes from being abused

Radical Slut Dis-coveery

tecutnah@yahoo.com, 2866 Wildwood Dr Clearwater FL USA 33761

Emiliah and Midge's stories and how they are healing. Questions around language, tactics, strategies, boundaries & taking care of yourself

Hysteria Collective Distro

2825 NE Dekum St, Portland OR USA 97211

Lots of zines, pamphlets and resources. Hysteria is a survivor and preventative focused collective

Rape Consent & Patriarchy

www.olymedia.manhost.org/zinelibrary.htm – free PDFs

from this online zine library

Open letter from a guy to the person who he had been in a long term relationship with that he assaulted.

Includes some other writing

On The Road To Healing: a booklet for men against sexism

basils@usanc.net Planting Seeds Press PO Box 33368 Austin Texas USA 78764

Broken up into 5 chapters: growing up male, changing ways, men's work, getting to know yourself, resource list

What Do We Do When?: Community Response To Sexual Assault (issues 1&2) proper tea is the best @crisup.net

Zine resource and reprints aimed at making sexual assault a discussion issue, raising awareness & promoting change

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SAME SEX RELATIONSHIPS

This article, "The Second Closet: Domestic Violence in Lesbian and Gay Relationships: A Western Australian Perspective" by Lee Vickers is an extract from a much larger article that can be found at <http://www.murdoch.edu.au/elaw/issues/v3n4/vickers.html#n25> (Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law Issue: Volume 3, Number 4 December 1996)

Introduction

1. In February 1994, Robert McEwan was arrested in Perth, Western Australia, and charged with the wilful murder of his same-sex partner of fourteen years. McEwan's partner died from multiple stab wounds. McEwan pleaded not guilty, basing his defence on the "battered wife syndrome" and provocation.
2. McEwan claimed that he had been "dominated and abused physically, sexually, and emotionally" by his partner for several years.[1] The jury was unable to reach a verdict and the matter was referred back to the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) who, in February 1996, decided not to proceed with the wilful murder charge. The DPP accepted the defences as pleaded and a plea of guilty to the lesser charge of manslaughter was recorded.[2] The case is believed to be the first in Australia to successfully rely on the "battered wife (spouse) syndrome" in a same sex relationship. Whilst media attention on the case has focussed exclusively on the use of the "battered wife syndrome", and has produced 'titillating' mainstream media headlines like "Gay Killer was Battered Wife"[3], the case importantly draws attention to the little discussed problem of domestic or intimate violence in same sex relationships.
3. Although there has been an increased focus in recent years on domestic violence, such efforts have been predominantly directed to heterosexual relationships, specifically to the needs of women escaping violent male partners. While it is acknowledged that women in heterosexual relationships comprise by far the majority of victims of domestic violence, the discourse on domestic violence in Australia seem to assume that domestic violence is a phenomenon peculiar to the heterosexual community. The absence of any reference to same sex domestic violence is evident, for example, in the recent publication of the Crime Research Centre of WA, "Measuring the Extent of Domestic Violence"[4].
4. Interestingly, despite the comprehensive coverage in the mainstream and local lesbian and gay print media of the McEwan case, there have been no subsequent articles focussing on the issue of domestic violence in same sex relationships. Arguably, this would have been an ideal opportunity to draw attention to the issue but unfortunately the opportunity has passed and the silence surrounding the issue of same sex domestic violence remains.
5. The silence that encapsulates same sex domestic violence is a central theme of this paper.
6. It is not my intention to examine theories of causation, rather, the focus is on the issues relevant to acknowledging and addressing the problem of same sex domestic violence, both generally and within the context of the Perth community.
7. In Part I of the paper, Recognition of Same Sex Domestic Violence, I define the problem of same sex domestic violence

and briefly examine the manifestations, myths and stereotypes, and prevalence, of domestic violence within the context of same sex relationships.

8. Part II, Issues in Responding to Same Sex Domestic Violence, canvasses the major issues which need to be addressed when considering how to appropriately respond to same sex domestic violence. This part includes a discussion of the reluctance of the lesbian and gay community[5] to acknowledge the problem and the role of heterosexism and homophobia[6] in maintaining their silence, the role and attitudes of the police and courts, and the availability, suitability and accessibility of support services for lesbian and gay victims of domestic violence.[7]

9. In Part III, Responses to Same Sex Domestic Violence in Perth, I provide an overview of the extent to which the issue of same sex domestic violence has been acknowledged and addressed both within and outside the lesbian and gay community[8] and explore the resources available to assist battered lesbians and gay men in Perth. Attention is paid to the appropriateness of existing support services, both legal (eg police and the courts) and non legal (eg shelters and counselling), and the efforts made to accommodate the needs of battered lesbians and gay men.[9]

I. Recognition of same sex domestic violence

A. What is Same Sex Domestic Violence?

Domestic violence in all intimate relationships is essentially about power and control, irrespective of the label attached to describe the relationship. Lundy[10] provides a generic definition of domestic violence, describing it in the following way: Domestic violence, whether heterosexual or homosexual, is nothing less than the systematic exercise of illegitimate power and coercive control by one partner over another. The ingredients of Lundy's definition are also evident in definitions of lesbian and gay domestic violence. Hart[11] defines lesbian battering as: That pattern of violent and coercive behaviours whereby a lesbian seeks to control the thoughts, beliefs, or conduct of her intimate partner or to punish the intimate for resisting the perpetrator's control over her.

10. Within the context of gay male domestic violence, Island & Letellier[12] define gay male domestic violence as: Any unwanted physical force, psychological abuse, material or property damage inflicted by one man on another. The forms that domestic violence may take in all intimate relationships include physical abuse, isolation, psychological and emotional abuse, threats and intimidation, sexual abuse, economic abuse, and property destruction.[13] There are additionally forms of abuse which are unique to lesbian and gay relationships - abuses which arise as a direct result of the heterosexist and homophobic nature of society. Partners who abuse often use homophobia and heterosexism as a weapon of control over their partner in a variety of ways:[14]

- o By 'outing' or threatening to out, their partner, to friends, family, employer, police, church or others in the wider community.
- o By telling a partner that no-one will help him or her because the police and the justice system are homophobic.
- o By telling a partner that s/he will not be believed because homosexuals do not rape or abuse their lovers.

- o By telling a partner that s/he deserves it because s/he is homosexual. This type of abuse is indicative of internalised homophobia or self hatred by an abuser.
- o By telling a partner that s/he is not a 'real' homosexual because s/he used to relate to men or women, has male/female friends, is a 'breeder', or prefers certain sexual practices or behaviours etc.
- o Because of the pervasiveness of heterosexism, an abuser may attempt to convince a partner that the abusive behaviour is normal and that the abused party does not understand gay or lesbian relationships.
- o Abusers can also rely on heterosexist and sexist stereotypes to hide abuse and increase power and control over their partner by portraying the violence as mutual or consensual combat.
- o By telling a male partner that the behaviour is not domestic violence but an expression of 'masculinity'.

B. Myths and Stereotypes

11. As a heterosexual feminist with an interest in the operation and effects of patriarchy, violence against women by their male partners has been and remains a central concern to me. Lesbian and gay domestic violence has not been an issue which I have considered previously in any depth and it is generally the case that same sex domestic violence is not a subject often discussed in feminist domestic violence discourse.

12. My initial response prior to researching the literature on same sex domestic violence demonstrates some of the preconceived myths which surround the issue. In relation to gay male domestic violence my view was that it would not be surprising to find a significant incidence of domestic violence - after all, men are encouraged to conform to the heterosexual, stereotypical definition of masculinity which venerates aggression and dominance as desirable 'male' characteristics. That men are violent and controlling in relation to their male partners is understandable given internalised norms of 'appropriate' male behaviour. Internalised homophobia can also result in these norms being further amplified in gay male relationships in an attempt to be accepted as more 'male'. [15]

13. But what about violence in lesbian relationships? The incidence I thought would be substantially less, absent the patriarchal male-female gender dynamic and its accompanying power differential. Furthermore, 'female' as socially constructed emphasises caring, mutuality, passivity and non aggression, and thus intimate relationships between women are more likely to be 'equal' and 'non violent'.

14. The above view, which I think is certainly not atypical, is clearly refuted by the literature.

15. There are indeed many widely held myths which serve to keep the problem of same sex domestic violence closeted. In summary, the more enduring myths which need to be dispelled are as follows: [16]

- o Domestic violence primarily occurs among gay men and lesbians who hang out at bars, are poor or are people of colour. [17]
- o Lesbians do not engage in violent abuse against their partners because women are not violent.
- o A batterer [18] must be physically bigger than the party

abused.

- o Women in relationships together have equal power.
- o Lesbian battering only occurs in S/M or butch/femme relationships.
- o Lesbian and gay domestic violence is about 'mutual combat', not power and control by one partner over the other. The violence is an 'equal fight'.
- o Violence is a normal part of how some same sex relationships work.
- o Men are never victims of domestic violence. It isn't violence when gay men fight, rather a case of 'boys being boys'.
- o Lesbian and gay domestic violence is 'sexual behaviour', a form of S/M which both parties enjoy.
- o Domestic violence victims deserve what they get because they provoke the violence.

16. These myths must be exposed and challenged in order to acknowledge and begin to address the problem of same sex domestic violence.

C. Prevalence

17. There has been considerable research into the incidence of domestic violence in heterosexual relationships. Estimates vary depending on definitional and methodological factors, however, most estimates tend to fall within a range of 20-35%. [19]

18. While research exploring the incidence of same sex domestic violence is more limited, researchers and workers in the lesbian and gay community generally agree that the incidence of domestic violence in same sex relationships is comparable to that in heterosexual relationships. [20]

19. Island & Letellier estimate that between 15-20% of gay and lesbian couples are affected by domestic violence [21] and describe gay male domestic violence as "the third most severe health problem facing gay men today", trailing behind only AIDS and substance abuse. [22] They estimate that approximately 500,000 gay men per year are battered by a violent partner. [23]

20. Some studies also suggest that the rate of violence is higher in same sex relationships. A 1985 study of 1109 lesbians by Gwat-Yong Lie and Sabrina Gentlewarrior reported that slightly more than half of the respondents indicated that they had been abused by a female partner. [24] Coleman, in a 1990 study of 90 lesbians reported that 46.6% had experienced repeated acts of violence. Finally, Ristock's study of 113 lesbians reported that 41% said they had been abused in one or more relationships. [25]

21. Arguably, these estimates substantially under represent the extent of the problem, due to the general reluctance to report or discuss incidents considered to be a 'private' matter between partners, and also because of the impact of a heterosexist and homophobic society which effectively maintains the silence of same sex domestic violence survivors. There exist barriers both within the lesbian and gay community and the wider community to disclosing same sex domestic violence, and both are inextricably linked to heterosexism and homophobia. [26]

22. Despite the absence of reliable statistics on the prevalence of same sex domestic violence, there is no doubt that the problem is significant.

relationships generally, then the problem of same sex domestic violence must be acknowledged and addressed by both the lesbian and gay community and the wider community.

NOTES

[1] Gibson, R. 'Gay Killer was "Battered Wife"', *The West Australian*, February 8, 1996, at 11.

[2] *id.*

[3] *id.* See also the recent headline in a stalking case involving a lesbian relationship: 'Lesbian Stalked Me, Claims Former Lover', *The West Australian*, May 14, 1996, at 5.

[4] Ferrante, A., Morgan, F., Indermaur, D. & R Harding. *Measuring the Extent of Domestic Violence*, Hawkins Press, 1996.

[5] It is assumed for the purposes of this paper that there is such an entity as 'gay and lesbian community' or 'communities'. It is acknowledged that 'gay and lesbian community' is an ambiguous concept, however, a discussion of the meaning of 'community' is outside the scope of this paper.

[6] Heterosexism is defined as "the pervasive cultural presumption and prescription of heterosexual relationships - and the corresponding silencing and condemnation of homosexual erotic, familial and communitarian relationships": Law, S. 'Homosexuality and the Social Meaning of Gender', (1988) *Wisconsin Law Review* 187. Homophobia is defined as a fear, dread or hatred of homosexuals: Pharr, S. in Lobel, K. (Ed). *Naming the Violence: Speaking Out About Lesbian Battering*, Sea I Press, Seattle, 1986, at 206.

[7] Whilst I use the term 'victim' throughout this paper it is not intended to convey or reinforce the view that persons who are on the receiving end of violence by a partner are relegated to the general status of 'victim' and thus disempowered.

[8] The material in Part 3 was compiled from discussions held with individuals from organisations with some interest or relevance to same sex domestic violence. See bibliography for a complete list of interviewees.

[9] The term 'battered' features prominently in the U.S. literature. I will use the term interchangeably with: 'survivors', 'abused person', and 'victim'. Similarly, 'batterer' is used interchangeably with 'abuser'.

Before proceeding, it should be acknowledged that I write as a heterosexual woman on this issue. I am aware that some may view this as problematic. From my own point of view, I concede to being initially ambivalent about writing the paper. On the one hand I feel that domestic violence is an issue that needs to be openly discussed. On the other hand, I question the appropriateness of writing for 'the other' on this issue. Ultimately, I have decided that same sex domestic violence remains a neglected issue in this state and that a discussion of the issues will raise awareness and generate debate. My intention is not to write 'for' anyone, but to stimulate discussion by drawing on the current literature and discussions with agencies possessing a working knowledge of the issues. The reader is invited to take or reject what is offered.

[10] Lundy, S. 'Abuse That dare Not Speak Its Name: Assisting Victims of Lesbian and Gay Domestic Violence in Massachusetts', *Symposium on Domestic Violence*, (Winter 1993) 28 *New England Law Review* 275.

[11] In *Naming the Violence*, n 6, *supra*, at 173.

[12] Island, I. & P. Letellier. *Men Who Beat the Men Who*

Love Them: Battered Gay Men and Domestic Violence, Harrington Park Press, New York, 1991, at 27.

[13] Cook, H. 'Hitting Close to Home: Domestic Violence in the Gay and Lesbian Community', *Gay and Lesbian Times Interactive* (San Diego), 1995, at 9.

[14] Lundy, n 10, *supra*, at 282-4; Hart, B. In *Naming the Violence*, n 6, *supra*, at 173, 179, 189; *Men Who Beat the Men Who Love Them*, n 12, *supra*, at 49-52.

[15] See generally Kendall, C. "'Real Dominant, Real Fun!': Gay Male Pornography and the Pursuit of Masculinity", (1993) 57 *Saskatchewan Law Review* 21, at 47-52.

[16] These myths represent those most commonly referred to in the literature. See for example *Island & Letellier*, n 12, *supra*, at 15-24.

[17] *Island, I. & P. Letellier. 'The Scourge of Domestic Violence'*, *Gay Book # 9*, San Francisco, CA, Rainbow Ventures Inc, Winter 1990, at 14.

[18] The term 'batterer' is used extensively in the American literature. I use this term interchangeably with 'abuser' but stress that 'batterer' should not be taken to refer only to acts of physical abuse. Threats and emotional abuse are also encompassed in the definition of 'batterer'.

[19] Lundy, n 10, *supra*, at 277.

[20] *Id.*; *Island & Letellier*, n 17, *supra*, at 11; Szymanski, M. 'Battered Husbands: Domestic Violence in Gay Relationships', *Genre Magazine*, Fall 1991, at 36-7; Renzetti, C. 'Building a Second Closet: Third Party Responses to Victims of Lesbian Partner Abuse', (April 1989) 38 *Family Relations* 157.

[21] *Island & Letellier*, n 17, *supra*, at 11.

[22] *Island & Letellier*, n 12, *supra*, at 283.

[23] *Island & Letellier*, n 17, *supra*, at 11.

[24] Gwat-Yong Lie & S. Gentlewarrrier. 'Intimate Violence in Lesbian Relationships: Discussion of Survey Findings and Practice Implications', (1991) 15 *Journal of Social Service Research* 46, The Haworth Press.

[25] Ristock, J. 'And Justice for All?...The Social Context of Legal Responses to Abuse in Lesbian Relationships', (1994) 7 *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 420.

[26] This issue will be discussed further in Part II. For more information about violence in same-sex relationships and violence against men, see <http://ssdv.acon.org.au/information> http://www.sfrcc.org/same_gender.html http://www.sfrcc.org/male_survivors.html Read more about sexual assault and domestic violence in queer relationships:

- Gregory Herek, et. al., "Psychological Sequelae of Hate crime victimization among lesbian, gay and bisexual adults," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12(2), 1999.
- Hetrick-Martin Institute Violence Report. New York, 1988.
- Renzetti, Claire. *Violent Betrayal: Partner abuse in lesbian relationships*. Newbury Park: Sage. 1992
- Salzman, L., et. al., National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, "Intimate partner violence surveillance: Uniform definitions and recommended data elements." Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999
- The New York City Gay & Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP). *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Domestic Violence Report*, 1992

Melbourne November 5 2006

My politics are all about dreams. My dreams are for a future free of subjugation; a world free of the authoritarian state, racism, bigotry, physical, sexual, emotional or financial violence. It's all about praxis. I subscribe to an ideal where we can think about our actions, act and have effect. In essence, we can be the change.

Last night I had the strangest dream. I sailed away to another dimension, and woke on a parallel plane at a warehouse party for anarcho /fez types in the lead-up to a parallel G20 summit protest.

In this bad dream, a rapist was asked to leave a Stop G20 organising gig. Unfortunately, in this nightmare of mine, the efforts of a community response to sexual violence were seriously limited (although not completely futile) by the damaging actions of some misogynists (read: self-professed "feminists") and some entrenched general apathy, disillusionment and disempowerment.

What a fucking nightmare. A rapist stayed at a "community" event while his victim was forced to leave. I feel sick that even in a dream, such horrors could occur. I hope this is not possible in the real world.

That's the thing about transformative politics – they rely on hope and dreams a lot. It's always invigorating to listen to 'new kids' coz their politics are often the most sorted. They believe in their ability to change the status quo; in human-kind's capacity for empathy and in their own power to stand up against oppression.

This empowerment is a stark contrast to the disempowerment demonstrated by an older crew of activists in this horrible dream. However vile their actions and the consequences of their actions, I should make it clear that I doubt any malicious intent was present on the part of these people. I interpret their actions as stemming from a long trajectory of witnessing sexual and physical attacks on women, and the disempowerment that ensues from failing to see community action plans implemented effectively. I am not making excuses. Their actions were disappointing to say the least. Their effects could have been devastating were it not for my eternal optimism, my hope and my dreams.

Can you hear me crying underneath the music?

This dream left me in a state of paralysis – I woke up shaking, but strong. In response to my sleep paralysis, I now, dear diary, feel the need to exercise some right of reply.

Nonsense number one: 'He has a right to be here'

Response: Bullshit. Going to a gig is not in itself a right, for rapists or any other person in the community. Being free from violence is a right. Leaving a gig for a few hours is a pretty small show of respect from someone who has

committed a vile crime against another person and the community's expectations as a whole.

Nonsense number two: 'It's his word against hers'

Response: Of course it is. Unless a rape is committed in public view that's always gonna be the case. Until an offender engages with, and seeks ways of attempting to rectify the horror and devastation of his actions this will always be the case. The unfortunate reality is that rapists are usually selfish, individualistic persons who seek to look after themselves only. This often means they will seek the advice of lawyers who encourage them to lie rather than engage and take responsibility for their horrific behaviour. Buying into this nonsense makes us as bad as the dominant legal system which is entrenched in patriarchy and misogyny. These are the reasons we engage in alternative communities in the first place; to create the change; to be the change.

Even nightmares don't stop the beauty of transformative politics in action

Even if my dream was not a dream, the horror of the nightmare does not stop the beauty and the strength of positive dreams linked with positive efforts.

Positive change is about process rather than absolute endings. The event is of lesser importance to creating the spaces for engagement and efforts and striving for possibilities. The attempt of the amazing crew of activists striving for their right to be in a violence free space had effects that go beyond the nightmare of having a rapist legitimised by some disempowered persons. They created a space of engagement with possibilities for the future. They were being the process. We will continue to be the process. We will be the change.

I have good dreams about the future...

The body is a site of assault by some; it is also a site for resistance. Along with my theories of action and change; doing nothing makes a person as culpable and guilty as the assaulters, the rapists and the bastards who seek to subjugate the many. I dream that we stand up strongly, look them in the eye and say 'No' 'Enough' 'Leave'. We are the change in my dreams. In my hopes for an ideal world, no pseudo radical will block up the path with misogyny, apathy or disillusionment. In my ideal world we are all empowered.

I have good dreams about the future. If we wade beneath all the years of oppression, within us we remember the theories, the ideas and the dreams behind the action. We will reinforce the need to use our bodies wisely - bodies of thought, human bodies, bodies of knowledge, power, resistance, bodies of action: bodies standing up in a process of change.

I hope for solidarity, bodies linked with love, heads high, receptive, empowered; stronger with the solidity of good dreams underpinning our actions.

With all my love and good dreams for the future
Peace

THESE WORDS HAVE TO LAND SOMEWHERE

These words have to land somewhere, and in the absence of trust, or is it support? they fall, shaken and broken hearted onto white screens. In the absence of strong communities I learn to write, and weave borrowed stories with my own.

It was a party this time. Yesterday it was a home, tomorrow a playground. Oh how I hate you. He had been asked not to come. I had received the call, a man called out for sexual assault might be coming to the gig, a womyn was needing support. Was there anything I could do? In the absence of further support (a common theme) I made a poster- 'Let's make this a safer space. Free from all forms of abuse. No rape, racism, sexism, queerphobia'. The poster was stuck up near the entrance to the squat. And to those who commented on the word 'rape' I fucking mean it. I know that rape continues to happen in so many spaces, and our 'communities' are not exempt.

He came. He was spotted. We met to organize our response, and I naïve and buzzed was excited. Was this community response to sexual assault happening here and now? You were on the roof and you refused to leave. We ASKED you nicely, explaining the situation- that we had been asked by people who felt unsafe in your presence to ask you to leave.

You mimicked us. You tried to intimidate us. Sure, I can't prove that the 'called out' abuse happened, and the rape was not my skin and soul that had been violated. But in these moments this didn't matter, what mattered was that people felt unsafe in your presence and that we were giving you an opportunity to responsibly deal with the situation, by leaving. By walking away, by stopping drinking, by quieting your voice, by not pushing me, by not continuing relationships of abuse and oppression. You refused you dumb fuck.

You made some stupid argument about your rights to be there in the space while others sat outside in tears, others left the party. I cried. In those moments when you put your finger in my face, told me I was pathetic and naïve and then pushed me.. I hated you. And everything that has bred you.

But you continued to drink, smirk on your face, comforted by your safety and assumption that I wouldn't fight back, push back, break down boundaries of domination. And we let you do it. We gave you a choice.

You got up again and danced in front of me, claiming your space aggressively (did you notice I didn't shrink back you jerk). And that was it.

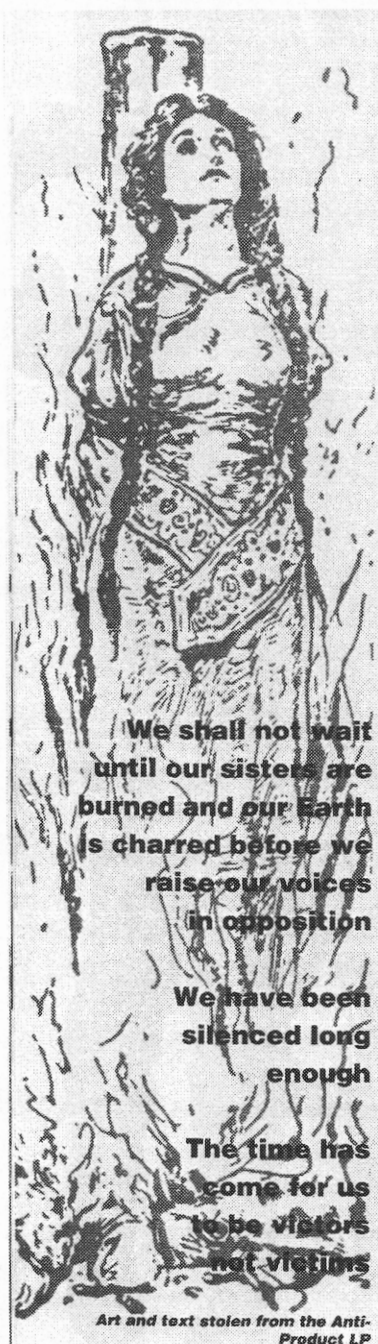
We didn't know what to do. We were a crew of ambitious peoples wanting to create safer spaces and support community response to sexual assault. There were around 10 people actively involved in discussions. One man. One. It wasn't enough.

Where to from here? Do we get together and discuss strategies, responses, protocol? What if the accused oppressor refuses to cooperate? Is there a time when we can/should

use physical force? Is a party really the time to address these issues? What other spaces can we create to work through this? How can we support those who feel unsafe to come to gigs/shows/events? How can we move beyond using alcohol/drugs as weapons to guard our responsibility for our own behaviours?

Does the rapist have the right to walk into parties unchallenged?

I am angry and disappointed. And this anger and disappointment is directed at our communities. If we are really wanting to build temporary autonomous zones, outside of state control and regulation we must deal with the messy stuff. Sometimes this just might include turning the music off and noticing, acknowledging, standing up for the pain of those who have been and continue to hurt.



Taking The First Step: Suggestions To People Called Out For Abusive Behavior
by wispy cockles
(originally published in the Jan/Feb issue of Clamor Magazine)

Introduction

What you see before you is a work in progress and will likely remain so. I write this to encourage dialogue and to provide a resource to people dealing with difficult situations. I do not write this to provide answers to every situation where someone is accused of abuse. Every situation will have unique characteristics that require unique responses and courses of action. What I hope is that this will spark a dialogue about how people accused of rape or abuse or sexual assault should conduct themselves regardless of their feelings of guilt or innocence. As radical communities we need to have extensive dialogue about how to deal with abusive behaviour, and this is one current within that dialogue. We should ask ourselves many questions. What responsibilities does the accused have to upholding a "process of accountability" regardless of their feelings of guilt or innocence? As survivors and communities how do we hold abusers responsible? How do we create strong communities that are ready to deal with difficult and controversial situations without factionalizing or falling apart? Is it a priority to determine "guilt" or "innocence" or is it a priority to create processes that demand accountability and deconstruct privilege?

There are some aspects of the ten suggestions I would like to explain first and foremost. We find ourselves in a world where the overwhelming amount of abuse occurs with men preying on women. It is a patriarchal phenomena. In this document I have used the gender neutral term s/he. I wish for survivors that fall outside of the male=assailant/female=survivor model to have visibility. I wish to speak to all abusers regardless of their gender. It is not an attempt to cloak the fact that abuse is largely perpetuated by men against women.

Also in this document I do address people who feel that they have been falsely accused of whatever they've been accused of doing. My reason for doing this is mainly, because people who are in denial need to be spoken to, and they need to be held to standards of conduct that support an atmosphere that challenges privilege and oppression. It goes without saying that in the majority of instances when people are called out for abuse it is because, in fact, they abused the person(s). However, there exist a minority of instances in which people are falsely accused of things.

This writing comes from the context of my own experience of dealing with accusations of sexually coercive behaviour. Accusations which were later revealed, by the person my accusers had pegged to be the "survivor", to have no validity. However, there were a good three months where, due to miscommunication and misunderstanding*, I honestly believed I was being accused by someone of manipulative and sexually coercive behaviour. I did a lot of self investigation and soul searching. Luckily, I had some great people to help me

process through my conflicting feeling surrounding dealing with these very frightening accusations of abuse. This is my way of giving back to all those who gave so much to me, and to a radical community which inspires me. It is a product of a very real, very intense lived experience facing accusations of abuse, and the reflection that followed.

I would like to say, in my opinion, that false accusations of abuse are themselves a form of emotional abuse. However, it is very important to keep a perspective about such things. The priority, in any situation, where someone is calling out someone else of abuse must clearly lay with the needs and desires of those claiming to have survived abuse. This is not to just err on the side of caution, as false accusations are by most accounts an extreme rarity. It is to support the beginnings of communities that trust those who stand up to those that hurt them. It is to support those that occupy the front lines in the struggle against hierarchy. Those beautiful souls who take the struggle home, where it's most difficult, and those whose strength should be displayed, if they wish, on the covers of radical tabloids alongside photos of black blockers doing property alteration. Their militancy doesn't leave them when the demo or deed is done, they live it.

*Take my advice, don't use e-mail to communicate about serious and emotionally charged issues.

Ten Suggestions For People Called Out For Abusive Behaviour

1. Be Honest, Stay Honest, Get Honest

If you know that you hurt the person calling you out for abuse, acknowledge it. If you think it's a possibility that you might have hurt them let them know. If you have any inkling that some way that you interacted with them might have compromised their dignity and boundaries let them know. The first step to dealing with our abusive tendencies is getting out of denial. Denial is like an infection. It starts in some locality (specific instances and situations, nitpicking at certain parts of an account of the situation[s]), and if untreated festers and eventually consumes us entirely. When we are able to vocalize that we are aware that something isn't quite right with our behaviour it brings us a step closer to dealing with it in a meaningful and honest way.

2. Respect Survivor Autonomy

Survivor autonomy means that the survivor of abuse, and the survivor of abuse alone calls the shots concerning how abusive behaviour is dealt with. This means s/he calls the shots and you live with her/his decisions. You don't get to determine how or even if a mediation/confrontation happens, or initiate action towards a resolution. You get to make it explicitly clear that you respect their autonomy in the situation, and that you're willing to work towards a resolution. They may prefer to never be in the same space with you again and don't wish to speak with you. It is not their responsibility, nor their duty, to attempt for resolution or enter into dialogue with you or take any specific course of action for that matter. However it is your responsibility, as someone being called out

to respect their needs and desires.

3. Learn To Listen

It is imperative that you open your ears and your heart to the person calling you out. This will likely be difficult, because people tend to get defensive and closed when they are accused of wrongdoing. Very few people in this world want to be pegged as the "bad apple of the bunch." To listen you will need to keep your defensive and knee jerk reactionary tendencies in check. These suggestions could be very helpful to you: A) Let the person calling you out direct the dialogue. If they want you to answer questions do so, but otherwise let them have the floor. B) Be aware when you're formulating responses and counterpoints in your head while they're expressing their account of the situation(s), and attempt to stop doing so. C) Focus on their account of things, and save going over in your head how you remember things until after they have spoken. D) Reflect upon the entirety of what they expressed and not just the disparities between your and their account of events. E) Talk with your friends about how you can better listen before you enter a mediation/confrontation.

4. Practice Patience

Sometimes things take time to be resolved. Sometimes it takes months, years, decades for a resolution, and sometimes there is no clear cut resolution. However, there is no timeline for resolution when human dignity is at stake. Be patient and never attempt to force a resolution, a process, or a dialogue. You may ask for a dialogue or a mediation, but if the answer is no it is no until s/he says it is yes. Don't attempt to wear down the boundaries of the person calling you out by asking for dialogue or mediation over and over again. Stay put, reflect, and think about the power dynamics in your relations with others.

5. Never, Ever, Blame The Victim

S/he did not ask for violence or abuse. S/he did not ask for it in how s/he dressed. S/he didn't ask for it, because s/he was under the influence of alcohol or drugs. S/he didn't ask for it, because s/he is a sex worker. S/he didn't ask for it because she chose to make out with you or because s/he went back to your place or because s/he is known to be into s/m or because she is a "tease" or because she is a "slut". S/he did not ask for it in anyway. It is not acceptable to write off his/her responses to your behaviour, because she is "hypersensitive" to 'your' threatening of abusive behaviour. It is not acceptable to say that s/he is "exaggerating" the abuse, because s/he is a feminist/queer liberationist/activist/punk/youth/"a PC thug"/etc. It is not acceptable to say that s/he is making it up, because s/he has a history of abuse or any other such nonsense. Making excuses for why someone is to blame for your hurtful actions are a way for you to avoid taking responsibility for 'your' fucked up behaviour. They expose you as a coward.

6. Speak For Yourself

You can account for your experience and your experience and your experience alone. Don't ever assume that you can know how the person calling you out as an abuser experienced the

situation(s). People walk down the same streets everyday and have very different experiences. This is a simple fact of life. It is, also, a very different experience to have the winds of privilege blowing against your back than to have the winds of oppression blowing in your face as you walk down those same streets. You cannot know how someone else felt at a certain moment, and so you should never presume that you have the right to judge the validity of their feelings. If they have expressed how they feel, then what you need to do, first and foremost, is to listen. It is important that you actively seek to understand their feelings. If you find that you simply cannot understand their feelings no matter how sincerely you try it is still not your place to judge the validity of them.

7. Don't Engage In Silence Behaviour

By telling your "side of the story" you could be creating an atmosphere that silences people who have been abused. If you feel that there are major discrepancies between your account of the situation(s) and their account, and that you are being "falsely accused" take a deep breath. First you need to know that you can never stop sincerely investigating the yourself and questioning how your behaviour affects others ..the case is never closed. With time you might come to realize that, yes, in fact your behaviour was abusive. It is your responsibility to continuously challenge your notions about how your behaviours effect others, and to challenge your understandings of how you hold power over others in your relationships. Read books, enter into recovery programs for batterer/sexual assailants, seek out a therapist, and discover your own ways of challenging yourself and your conceptions of how your behaviour effects others.

Understand that if you attempt to silence the person(s) by promoting your account of things as "the truth" you will silence others as well. People will fear coming forward with their stories and fear confronting abuse, because of YOUR silencing behaviour. If you are committed to creating a world where people speak freely about the wrongs done to them you will want to avoid focusing on how the accusers are "lying" about you, and you will want to avoid airing your presumptions and theories as to their "motives". One example off the top of my head is how one particular rapist/sexual assailant passed out a list of 40 points of contention at a punk show to refute the stories of three women calling him out. The flyer went on and on about the disparities between these women's stories and the "truth". This is one blatant example of silencing behaviour, but it can act in far more subtle ways.

Silencing behaviour is ANY behaviour which attempts to make the survivor of abuse out to the perpetrator of misinformation. It is any behaviour which attempts to make the abuser out to be the victim. It very quickly puts into question the character of the person calling out an abuser. Often it leads to a backlash against them both explicit (threats, harassment, violence) and implicit (endless questioning, non supportive behaviour i.e. "I don't want to get involved in this" or "I'm hearing a lot of different stories"). Silencing behaviour creates an atmosphere where people fear and don't call out their abusers, and therefore an atmosphere where abuse

flourishes.

However, this does not mean that you should not speak of how you experienced the situation(s) differently from the other person(s) calling you out. It simply means that it is your responsibility to do so in a way that is respectful and that does not help to foster an atmosphere of silence around abuse. You may need to relate your experiences to those with which you have close friendships/working relationships and to those that approach you, but as I said above speak for yourself. Do not intersperse their account with yours to illustrate the inconsistencies that you perceive. Do not relate the person(s) stories for them. Do not go on and on about how they should have called you out in a different manner. Do not talk about their shortcomings in the relationship/ friendship. Do not cast yourself in the role of the victim of a "witch hunt" or "cointelpro". Do not assert that they are lying, and if your account differs from theirs make it clear that this is how you and only you account for your experiences(s) of the situation(s). Let what you say be limited exclusively to your recollection. If you feel the need to vent find a good person to vent to whose outside of your immediate social scene/community (if you look hard enough you might find a therapist willing to work with you on a sliding scale basis, preferably find one with a radical/feminist analysis) or someone outside the scene/community altogether (who you know for sure has not been a victim of abuse). If you honestly believe you are being falsely accused your character will have to speak for yourself rather than you speaking for your character.

8. Don't Hide Behind Your Friends

Often the people most vocal in defending abusers are not the abusers themselves, but their friends, comrades, and lovers. "But s/he's really a good person/activist/artist" or "S/he contributed so much to the community/scene" or "The person I know would never do something like that" are some common defensive reactions among many. If you feel that people are trying to insulate you from your problems or from questioning your actions....let them know that it isn't acceptable. You need to hear the criticisms and anger of the survivor(s) and their allies. As well you need to stop others from engaging in silencing behaviour. Let them know that if they truly care about you that instead of defending your character and reacting to the accusations they need to help you examine yourself and figure out ways of transforming dominating behaviours.

9. Respond To The Wishes of The Survivor and The Wishes Of The Community

Taking responsibility for our harmful actions is an integral part of the healing process. You will need to respond to the wishes of the survivor and the community not just for their healing, but yours as well. If s/he or they wish that you be suspended from certain projects/activities or that you engage in a batterers/assailants program or that you do book reports on books about ending rape and abuse or if they want you to do anything within the realm of possibility don't argue with them....give them what they ask for. You need to show the

survivor and the community that you are acting in good faith and that you are ready to deal with your problems of abuse or at the very least that you are willing to sincerely investigate the possibility that you engaged in abusive behaviour. You need to show the survivor and the community that you respect their autonomy and their ability to make decisions that meet their needs and desires for safety, healing, and ending oppression. Again if you want to live in a world free of abuse, rape, and oppression you will support survivor autonomy and community self-determination even if you feel you are being "falsely accused". Do not engage in the silencing behaviour of attacking the demands and process of the survivor(s) or the community. This is what abusers and their supporters typically do to create a smokescreen of issues to take the heat off of themselves.

10. Take Responsibility....Stop Abuse and Rape Before It Starts.

It takes a lot of courage and self-knowledge to admit that you've hurt someone, that you compromised their dignity and self worth, or that you used power over someone in the worst ways. It takes a lot of sincerity to make an apology without expecting to be applauded or thanked for it. However, this is what it will take to start overcoming our abusive tendencies. To know that you have wronged someone and to do otherwise is to perpetuate the hierarchy. It is to be more than simply complicit within it, but to actively support it. It will take honesty, diligent self investigation, and compassion to start to overcome our abusive tendencies. Once your able to admit that you have a problem with (sometimes or always) abusing people you can begin to learn how and why you do it. You can learn early warning signs that you're slipping back into old patterns, and you'll be better able to check yourself. My life has been a life of unlearning such patterns of abuse, of learning to reject the roles of both the abuser and the abused, and it is far from over. Bad habits are easily taken up again, and many times it is easy to assume that we are not wielding power over someone. We must persistently question this assumption just as we would demand that any assumption be questioned, lest it become dogma.

It is crucial that we learn to ask for consent from our sexual partners. It is crucial that we learn to recognize aggressive and passive aggressive abuse in its various emotional, economic, physical, and sexual manifestations, and that we stop it before it escalates to more severe and harmful levels. We need to call it out when we are aware of it in other people, as well as ourselves This process is a process of overcoming of oppression, of rejecting the roles of oppressor and oppressed. It is a path that leads to freedom, and a path that is formed by walking. Will you take the first step?

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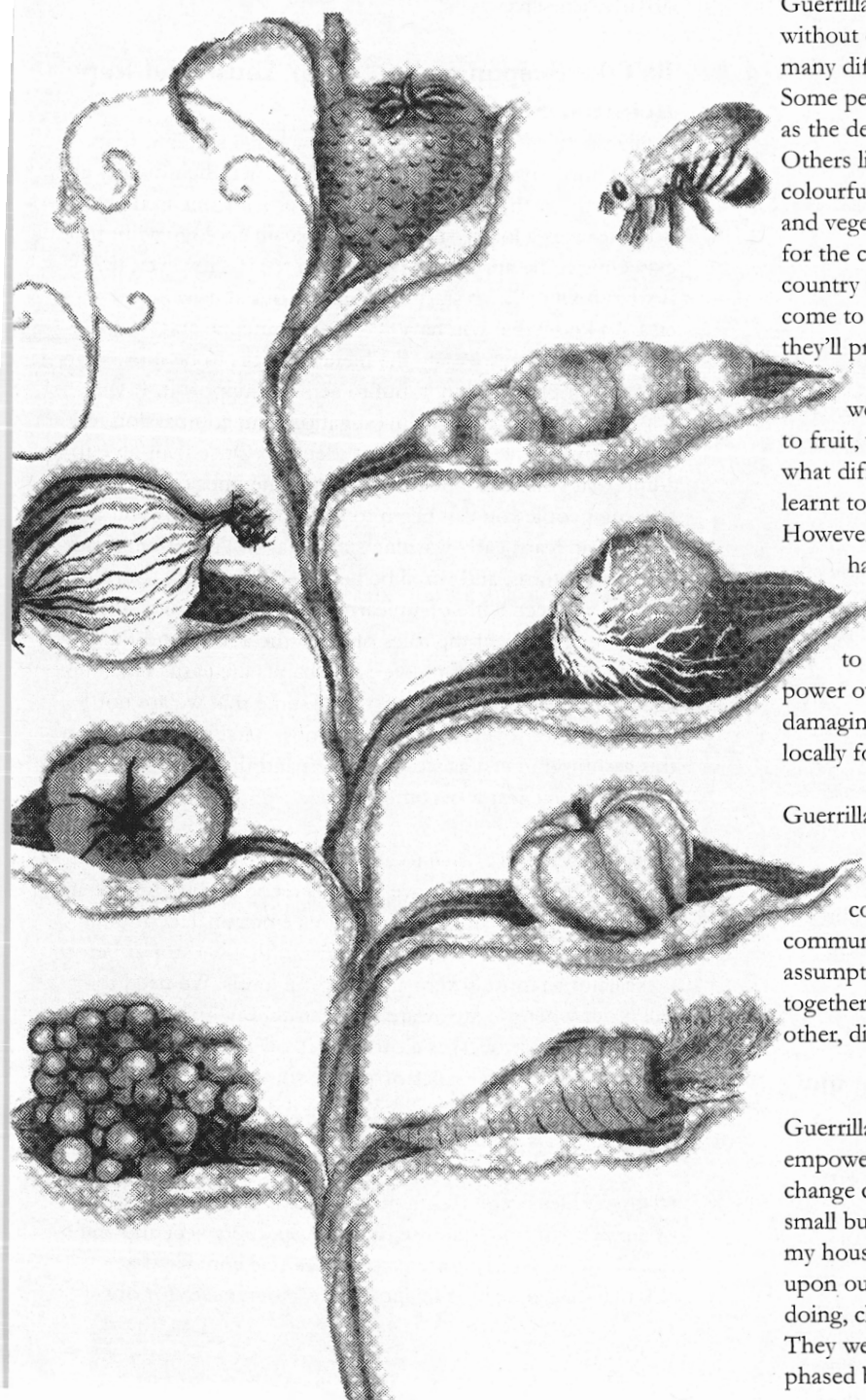
The tomatoes in my garden are little revolutionaries. Our basil plants are anti-capitalist. Each day they remind me that the world I'm working towards is growing, steadily.

Gardening and food production provide the sustenance, which makes activism real. To eat conventionally grown food - grown by multinationals, at the expense of poor workers' rights, using up fossil fuels, contributing to water and resource wastage - feels hypocritical whilst agitating for a world, which isn't reliant upon capitalism. The change we create starts here, now, with us. Like in preparing healthy, fertile soil for the gardens of the future.

Guerrilla gardening involves growing plants in public spaces without council permission. Guerrilla gardening can take as many different forms as there are cracks in the pavement. Some people like to plant natives, addressing issues such as the destruction of indigenous land and native species. Others like to beautify the urban landscape with flowers and colourful plants. Personally, I'm interested in growing fruit and vegetables and providing a local source of organic food for the community. Most people don't stop to consider which country their coconut milk comes from, or how their lettuces come to be. If you ask most kids where milk comes from, they'll probably say the supermarket. We've unlearned practical life skills such as food growing, to the extent that we don't even know what season plants grow and come to fruit, what climate they grow in, or even how to identify what different fruit and vegetable plants look like. We've learnt to rely upon the capitalist system for all our needs. However, that system and its corporations and agribusinesses have as much power as we give them. They rely on consumers just as much as we rely upon them. As long as we look to corporations and governments to provide for all our daily needs, they'll retain their power over us. If we intend to create a different, less damaging system, we need to relearn life skills and provide locally for our communities and ourselves.

Guerrilla gardening transfers unused sections of the urban landscape into community hands, creating the potential to inspire action and create healthy communities. It creates community ownership of communal living space, challenging and altering mainstream assumptions of private ownership. Gardens bring people together to learn, share, relax and communicate with each other, directly opposing the alienation of capitalist society.

Guerrilla gardening is a tangible action, a positive action. It's empowering and rewarding, and demonstrates how quickly change can happen, with just some soil, some seeds and a small bunch of people. The garden we built in the park near my house surpassed my expectations in the effects it had upon our community. People stopped by to see what we were doing, chatted, offered tips and support, and even joined in. They were excited about the new space we were creating, un-phased by the lack of council consultation, even supportive



that we didn't want to engage with the bureaucracy. The new space is so much more than a few herbs in a corner of the park. We've created a space for community members to meet and communicate. It's a space which calls into question the very nature of conventional food, where food comes from, how that happens, what processes it goes through, which elite few benefit, and why that's the case.

Guerrilla gardening is one tactical tile in a colourful mosaic of dissent. It is one of many tools providing the infrastructure we need to autonomously organise our communities. It's fun, and practical, and moves our communities towards being self sustained, self directed entities.

Some tips to plant a guerrilla garden:

CHOOSE A SPOT

The nature of the plot depends on the statement you want to make and what you want to grow. Consider soil, pollution, water, sun and accessibility.

CHOOSE YOUR PLANTS

The type of plants you grow depends on your aims. eg. Pretty flowers/food producing/natives. To grow out there in the

urban environment, the plants you choose need to be tough, to survive without being pampered. Read up on plant varieties to learn when they need to be planted, what environment they like, and which other plants they will grow well with.

WATER

Consider where your plants will get their water. Especially in the beginning, help your plants adjust to their new homes with water. Water savers (little beads from the hardware shop which absorb and release water to the plant over time) can help. Mulching also helps to retain water.

COMMUNITY

Your close community as well as the wider community are your friends. Talk to people and let them know what you're doing. Chances are people will offer to help you out and take on the space as their own. I reckon this is the best way to maintain a garden long term. Lots of hands make for light work.

miss joy field



WTO: FOOD SECURITY & BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

Food security is defined by the United Nations as having both the availability and accessibility to food; meaning food is not only available, but that people can afford it. It is a state's responsibility under the international declaration of human rights to ensure the food security of its citizens. Presently, one in six people in the world are estimated to be undernourished. Many nations suffer from problems of chronic food insecurity.

International trade laws, which are lobbied for by groups like the World Trade Organization (WTO), often have a negative effect on local food security, particularly when developing nations enter into free trade agreements with wealthy nations such as the USA. This is complex issue, but some of the disadvantages less developed nations face will be outlined in the following.

Raw Materials

Most poor nations export only the raw materials of the agricultural trade with minimal profits. These are then processed by larger corporations, which reap most of the profit. Nestle, for example, is the largest company producing food internationally, and receives the bulk of profits from coffee and cocoa crops of developing countries in Latin America.

Cash crops over subsistence

The World Trade Organization advocates that a freer trade system aids the economy and development of nations. This can lead to subsistence farmers changing their production to that of cash crops. These crops, such as coffee and cocoa, are at the whim of market forces and fluctuating prices. Yaomapa Promwong relates the tale of her village in northeast Thailand, telling of how, before the advent of cash crop farming, families "exchanged seed with each other. Most would grow rice as their main crop, each usually growing several different varieties. Different families therefore had different harvesting seasons, allowing for community members to help each other in the harvests. Through such activities, production costs were kept low and community spirit was strong." (Abraham)

Cash cropping often changes agriculture from poly-cultural to monocultural, where locals sell their produce on the international market and then have to buy their food products. Monocultures are more susceptible to natural disaster, which seems to be on the rise. Bought food is often at a lower quality, more processed and less diverse than that they would have grown themselves. They also have the added cost of seed, fertilizers and other chemicals. If a cash crop drops rapidly in price, or is affected by natural disaster, farmers may be left without the income to even feed themselves.

While cash crops are not altogether bad, food security needs to be the first consideration, and any excess resources can then be used to generate crops for an income. This way, people in developing nations retain local culture associated with food production, a level of self determination, and are at least assured a healthy diet.

Subsidies and Market Dumping

Free trade erodes the right of Nations to enforce import tariffs. One of the WTO stated aims is for "countries to lower their trade barriers and to allow trade to flow more freely." On the other hand the USA and EU continue to subsidize their farmers at levels no developing nation can compete with. The WTO at face value advocates the protection of developing countries from subsidies.

They have special provisions that take into account the situations that developing countries face. They also spell out when and how governments can protect their domestic producers, for example from imports that are considered to have unfairly low prices because of subsidies. (WTO)

Cunningly, these massive payouts to large EU and US farms are becoming disguised under new terms such as 'domestic support', and therefore escape the banner of trade distorting subsidies. In 1992, export subsidies on EU cereals dropped 2.2 billion Euro, while domestic subsidies rose 117 million euro (Bello). Dumping or flooding the market is where large amounts of this subsidized product enter foreign markets, pushing down prices. Prices are so distorted that it is often cheaper for people to buy imported produce than that produced locally. We see this in Australia with cheap imports of dried fruits, tinned tomatoes, etc. The environmental cost is also huge as imported produce does not take into account the cost of fossil fuels used in fertilizer, transport, storage and refrigeration.

Unless agricultural subsidies are removed there is no way developing countries can escape the harmful impacts of cheaper and subsidized food surges... a vast majority of the developing countries have turned into food importers during the first 10 years of the WTO. Millions of farmers have lost their livelihoods as a result of cheaper imports. If the WTO has its way, and the developing countries fail to understand the prevailing politics that drive the agriculture trade agenda, the world will soon have two kinds of agricultural systems. The rich countries will produce staple foods for the world's 6 billion plus people, and developing countries will grow cash crops like tomato, cut flowers, peas, sunflower, strawberries and vegetables.

The WTO would ensure that the reins of food security are passed into the hands of rich and developed countries – back to the days of 'ship-to-mouth' existence." (Bello)

There is a developing conflict of interest between a nation's responsibility to ensure human rights and food security for its people, and the need to uphold international trade laws which compromise a nation's ability to feed itself (Phlae).

Intellectual Property Laws

International property laws can also create unfair trade relations. TRIPS is the WTO Agreement on Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights. Claimed to protect the rights of people and their botanical developments, the laws are dense, and hence not easily accessible to farmers, people practicing subsistence agriculture, or indigenous peoples. Plants, animals and essentially biological processes cannot be patented. Laws are geared for wealthy nations and

corporations that can develop new plant varieties. The International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV) is an intergovernmental organization established as the international forum for states and organizations interested in plant variety protection.

UPOV Mission Statement:

To provide and promote an effective system of plant variety protection, with the aim of encouraging the development of new varieties of plants, for the benefit of society.

Michel Fanton, founder of the international Seed Savers Network outlines the argument:

Even if indigenous people without formal education or even pen and paper, wanted to - or could afford to - they don't stand a chance of registering their seeds because their varieties are cross-pollinating, loaded with genes and very diverse.

The reasons farmers keep these local food varieties is because they are very resilient, adapted to local conditions, and are more likely to give a crop than the modern high-tech seeds that need pesticides, fertilizers and irrigation. These land race or farmers' varieties are the genetic base of today's food for all of us. This crop diversity is not rewarded by the formal sector, only used by corporate breeders for their specialized complex genes sequences that are the base of modern patented varieties.

The danger is that corporations hunt for old genotypes, often developed over thousands of years of traditional breeding. Nations that now find themselves in the developing nation category have a rich history of agriculture, and are responsible for the bountiful food plants we have today through generations of seed saving. Particularly rich in agricultural biodiversity are Asia, the Middle East, Ethiopia and Central America. Seed corporations seek out this rich biodiversity to find genotypes which can be used for the development of 'new varieties'. They make small changes, and then patent these 'new' varieties.

These issues of who patents and controls certain seeds and biological information is increasingly important in a world of declining fossil fuels. This has been acknowledged by some sectors of the US military:

Today, the hydrocarbon molecule is the basic unit of commerce. In a biobased economy, genes will replace petroleum. So, just as we currently demand assured access to sources of hydrocarbon molecules (oil), in the near future we will demand assured access to a broad-based, diverse supply of genes (plants and animals). This shift has security implications. Relations with oil-rich countries will be of less importance, and relations with gene-rich states—mostly the biodiverse regions along the equator—will assume greater significance. Conflicts may arise between gene-rich, technology-poor countries that control the basic raw materials of a biobased economy, and gene-poor, technology-rich nations that control the production methods. (Armstrong)

As the CEO of Seminis, a company recently acquired by Monsanto, states, "seeds are software and we have the seeds." (Fanton)

While 70% of world seed production is still in the hands of farmers, global companies are increasingly taking control of our biological heritage through patenting laws and Plant Variety Protection Laws (Grain).

Genetic Engineering

Genetically Engineered (GE) seeds are the perfect candidates for protection under intellectual property laws. This can lead to corporate control of seeds, and the destruction of biological and cultural diversity. Again, the culture of small scale farming, seed saving and selection, and community unity is eroded, leaving farmers at the whim of global economic forces.

Iraq is now one of the most privatized nations in the world. Fanton states that "the Plant Variety Protection provisions are designed to suppress traditional seed-saving and exchange practices that go back to the Neolithic era ten thousand years ago in favor of commercial rights that presage a takeover of Iraq's agriculture and food supply by transnational agricultural pesticide and seed corporations."

GE has done little to increase food security. To date, the most successful GE has been to merely make plants resistant to herbicide application, such as Roundup Ready Soybeans-Monsanto's GE seed and chemical package. This means increased use of chemicals and further environmental degradation. In the US, of \$100billion dollars invested in GE in 2003, the return was a \$40billion loss (Phelps). Imagine the results if these kinds of funds were invested in localized sustainable agriculture!

What Can You Do?

• Buy local and organic products

The best way to resist dominant ways of being is to support alternatives. While they can be more expensive, they take into account the true environmental (nurturing the soil) and social (less fossil fuels more human labor) costs of food production. We have been conditioned to value thrift above environmental and health considerations.

• Visit farmers markets

Supports local small-scale farming.

• Grow your own

Reap what you sow, no fossil fuels required!

• Maintain Biological Diversity

Join the Seed Savers network: www.seedsavers.org.au.

Save and swap your own seed. Use heirloom, open pollinated seeds from companies like Green Patch, Eden Seeds, Diggers. Plant indigenous or seed-grown garden plants

• Direct action

Lobby for more support into the research and development of the organic industry; no GE crops in Australia; and more equitable trade agreements.

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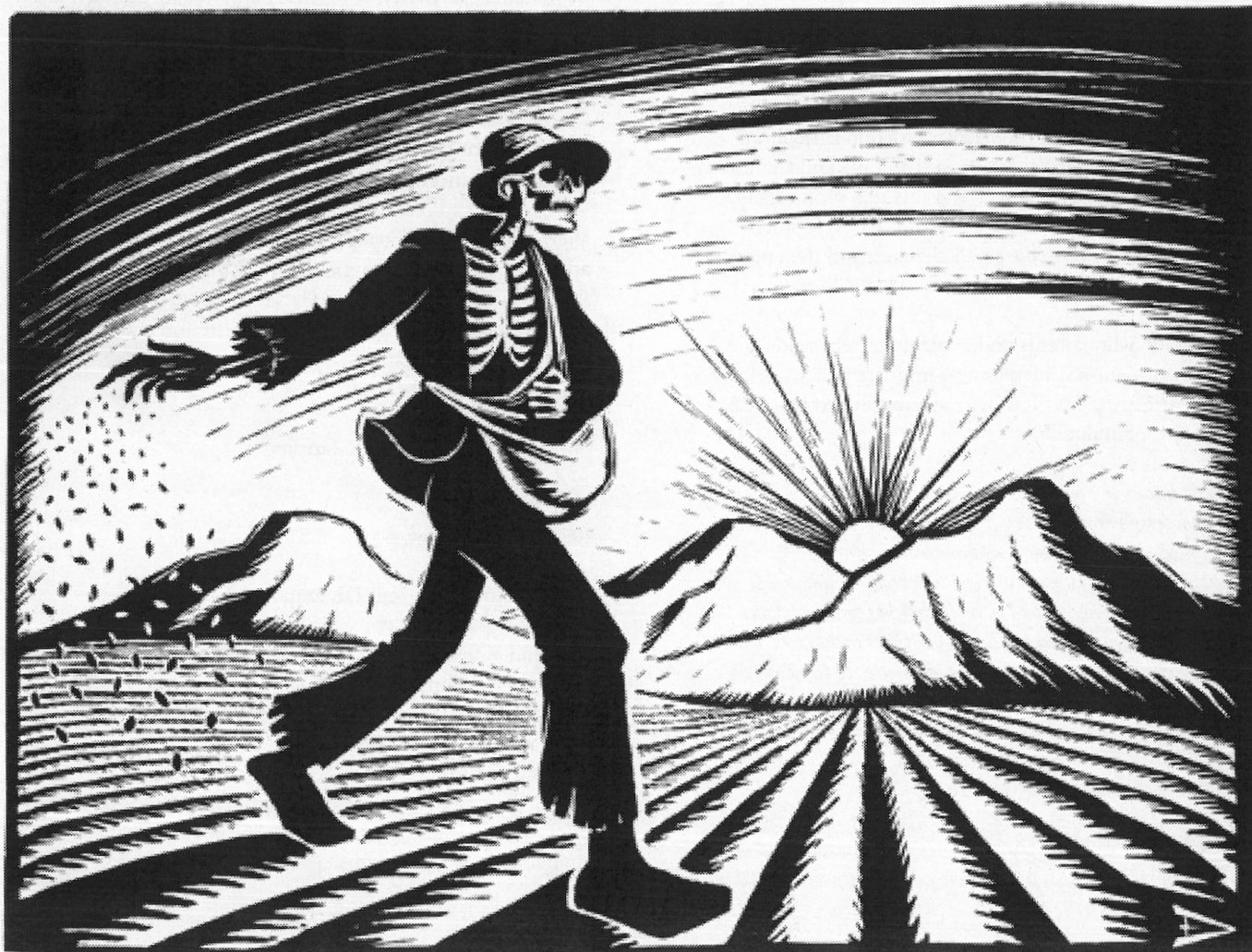
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Elsbeth Brock



DIYhousegigs began as an idea in late 2004, inspired by the DIY ethic of 70's and 80's punk. The idea was to bring together anyone interested in to holding gigs free from the constraints of the commerce society in which we unfortunately live in. These gigs would be held in backyards, abandoned warehouses and shopfronts, dingy squats, rooftops: in short, wherever the fuck one wanted.

The first gig took place in early January 2005 at a house in Brunswick. On a warm summer's night, fifty or so people watched and sweated to the sounds of Tank, Young Love and Group Seizure. Those who weren't watching the bands lounged in the open rooftop reading and looking through the zine distro that had been set up.

The second gig took place a month later at the House of Finbar in Footscray, with twenty people chilling out to the sights of Go Genre Everything and Trickledown, the highlight of which was the four year old next door neighbour who spent most of the gig hanging over the fence even getting to sing along to a couple of improvised numbers.

The next gig was Compost, held at Montrose, a small inner city terrace house in North Carlton. Here 80 people relaxed in the backyard to the chilled sounds of Snawklor, Raceless and Ai Yamamoto, Casionova and Rose Turtle Ertler. There was a zine stall run by Breakdownpress (www.breakdownpress.org), and food and cake for everyone. As dusk set in, the Town Bikes gave a five-minute performance to end the night.

Gig four took place at the House of Finbar and was the most ambitious gig to date. A mini-festival entitled "Let's lynch the landlord", it featured some ten bands/performances all up including: Pisschrist (one of their performances in which Yeap ended up with a bloodied face), Young Love (the singer of which also followed Yeap's traditional of ending the gig bleeding from the mouth), the Ureviles, Procedure 286, Panel of Judges, Arch Rivals and Potential Citizens. There were also speeches from Michael Hyde- a uni lecturer who was banned from uni for life in the sixties owing to his student/ Maoist activism- who spoke about the Maoist anti-war protestors of '68 (and was questioned quite intelligently by a room full of anarchists about his opinion on Mao); and Briony from Resistance who spoke about her upcoming trip to Bolivia. Along with the speakers and bands, Barricade books had their own store, there was information about the upcoming Stolenwealth Games Protests, and Food not Bombs provided food for the event. There was also an acoustic room where a husband and wife duo spent the afternoon making experimental noise and spontaneous poetry performances took place.

The next gig was DIYHousegigs' greatest achievement to date: a mini-festival taking place over the course of a weekend (the 5th and 6th November 2005). Entitled The Cardboard Chateau, the gig began in the early afternoon on the Saturday and finished early Sunday evening when the cops enforced a \$500 fine for noise violations and complaints. (A fine that, in true DIY spirit, has and will not be paid seeing as the gig only ran ten minutes over time and it wasn't until everything was packed up and everyone was heading home that the police decided to come and slap a fine on the gig.) The festival featured some twenty performers all up. Saturday saw an eclectic mix of music styles, from the noise and punk rock antics of True Radical Miracle, to the sublime sounds of Mousetrapreplica (complete with sound specific painter), the riot grll of Love the Bomb, and the eclectic country/gypsy music of The Adorable Catastrophe. Sunday was a much more relaxed affair with the sixty or so in attendance basking in the late spring heat to the sounds of Seth Rees, Basement Cinema and Go Genre Everything. There was also a puppetry performance by Deborah Hall complete with dancing skeletons and oversized toy squids and fish. The highlights of the show are varied, but the collective spontaneity of the Exquisite Corpse art (one person writes a sentence, the other person draws a picture folds it over and passes it on to the next until the page is full and you get a strange and weird story) and acid inspired and induced graffiti that spilled across the wall on the Saturday night are a couple. Once again there were stalls from Barricade Books and Sticky (the zine store in the underground, and there was cake and food provided by the vegan cooking branch of the Barricade collective. There was also a zine, Here, there, everywhere, given away free for the first sixty or so house goers. In this a lengthy account of the G8 protest in Scotland could be read, as well as travel logs of protests in Darmsdat and squats in Berlin.

Over the rest of the summer of 2005-2006 a couple more gigs were held, of which the Ovens Street warehouse was the most noteworthy. Organised in nine days this gig took place at the civil time of 2 o'clock on a Wednesday afternoon, with a wading pool out the front and haircuts in the alley around the side, a hundred odd people came to witness the sounds of Dead Record Girls, Go Genre Everything, Batrider, Love the Bomb and The Aralees, and the spoken word of Alice O'Brien. The evening ended with the sounds of DJ's Cleopatra vs. Prblmatic, and the joys of a drunken walk home.

All up, DIYhousegigs has held some dozen or so gigs and is looking to hold plenty more. At the moment DIY Housegigs is constructing a new interactive website to replace the old one. This website will have stories and photographs and sound bites, and maybe one day in the future video footage (volunteers anyone?). With summer coming, DIY Housegigs is planning on kick starting some fun and action to enliven the city. If you're in a band, or know anyone who is; or an artist; poet; writer; feral activist; media subverter; or if you just want to organise an enjoyable afternoon/evening at your place, then you can join the mailing list by dropping us an email at diyhousegismelbourne@gmail.com. Let's create some little fun spaces of resistance and enjoy this summer and the years to come.

Scott



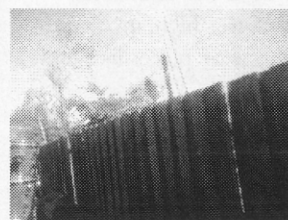
the crowd
cardboard
chateau,
saturday



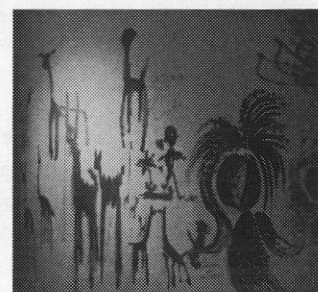
casionova,
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tbarkyard bbq, montrose



four year old
neighbour, house of
fin bar. (pre sing-
along)



graffiti, sunday morning,

THE ATENEO - MANIFESTO

The Ateneo is a place where squatters live. Its thoughts about society, class, dialogue, ideas, resistance and rebellion are often different from the ideas of the mainstream society. We are anarchists, because we are interested in the ideas and culture of the people living in the world. We consider it urgent to knock down systems of violent relations, and at the same time we intend a crossway for human exchange, outside of the logic of the main power of authority. To build an experimental, distinct civilization and another culture. In this place (The Ateneo), you can forget the outside system, and you don't have to accept their symbolic, patriarchal, militaristic structures.

The Ateneo allows us to recognize the history of women, men, peasants and radicals with true ideals and beliefs.

If you come here, you won't feel like a visitor, because this house is yours, mine, hers, his – it belongs to everyone who wants the house to be a different place to go, an escape from the materialistic and ordinary world.

A happy and friendly place where you don't have to be scared or worried to think differently and to be able to create realities and possibilities.

The evening I ventured to the Ateneo mid-October 2006, the squat was having an open house. I'd been told that the squat was big news and the fight to keep it had been well publicised in the mainstream media. The Ateneo, as it is known, was located right near the downtown area of Santiago, a few blocks off the main avenue in what could only be described as a dodgy end of town - muggings at gunpoint are not so uncommon in these parts. We thankfully had no trouble, but there was drama as we later discovered. What I saw was an intriguing and in some ways inspiring example of what a group of determined people can do when they work together and stick to their guns (not literally).

Entering El Ateneo, I was impressed by the state of the house; clean with lots of space, large rooms containing comfy couches, cheap home cooked food and dips made at a small co-operative cafe in the backyard. A mini library of anarchist and socialist literature, political posters of Latin American revolutionaries, and bits of artwork hanging all over the place. One room, from the little I saw of it was filled with bicycles and bicycle parts stacked two metres high, instantly reminding me of the DIY bike workshops of places like Irene Warehouse and Ceres.

The people in attendance for the most part were young, uni student types and anarchist punks, though there was a liberal dose of older folk and activists there to celebrate and educate the youth. In the front room everyone gathered around the television, squeezing onto couches, kneeling on floors, looking through windows from outside; all like over excited children to watch themselves on the evening news.

As we switched from channel to channel watching similar scenes of serious looking politicians (presumably) condemning the clashes, anarchists throwing bricks through Burger King windows, one man being tried in a court for incidents relating to the riot, the room erupted into laughter when they saw themselves on TV giving impromptu press conferences, clowning around and making fun of police officers on national television. All in the name of trying to keep a squat in an abandoned house.

Eventually after watching every news segment possible (I counted seven), the television room became the spoken word room with various activists - young and old, male and female, gay and straight – giving short talks on various issues that concerned the radical community. The drama of the evening came in the form of a cordoned off area outside the squat which was turned into a mini theatre and a short comical play, performed by the anarchists, obviously making fun out of the media reporting of the riots, and of course the police. I myself at one point was asked not to take photos, the household still a little bit wary of the police and the legal ramifications that entailed, while I was too unversed in Spanish to be able to explain that I was an activist myself with the intent of sending the photos to like minded amigos at the other end of the planet. I made a move early to get some sleep but apparently there were film screenings and music that continued on late into the night.

On the whole, it was an informative experience, and interesting to see the lengths anarchists here are prepared to go to keep a squat. Though I wouldn't say that the place felt comfortable enough to feel like you could visit anytime without knowing someone there, I, even as a foreigner, still felt the sense of achievement in the participants' ability to put together such a well organized place of learning and radical politics despite the odds against them.

Viva El Ateneo!

Benyam Seifu

FOOD NOT BOMBS CAMP HELSINKI 2001. IN SOLIDARITY WITH GENOA

It was the end of an intense week:

New friends, new ideas, new energy.

We were immersed in Food Not Bombs. In the ills of this world & the ways in which we could make them better. Partying, cooking, sauna-ing, cycling, bin hoking (dumpster diving), banner making, t-shirt printing, dancing, playing, drinking & talking.

We had meetings/talks/discussions/workshops on anarchism, the food industry, veganism, freeganism, anti-militarism/conscientious objection, globalisation/the anti-globalisation movement, homelessness, ecology, on whether or not to have ketchup with meals, & the merits/pitfalls of soya. Some of us were 'old hands' in these discussions. Some of us were new to

FOOD NOT BOMBS CAMP HELSINKI 2001. IN SOLIDARITY WITH GENOA

it all, with a hunger for information. Everyone had something to learn; everyone had some assumptions/pre-conceived ideas challenged & reconsidered.

For me it was a beautiful time. The FNB crew were inspiring to be around. There was energy in the Food Not Bombs camp that for some time had been missing in my life. I will try to take that energy with me.

Friday the 20th July was a busy day. I'd awoken broken/bruised & hung over from too much beer/dancing & a cycle crash the night before. We started off the day as usual with breakfast & discussion, and then got down to work chopping & cooking. We were serving food in Rastila, a suburb in Helsinki, so it was almost an hour's cycle from the Peace Station where we were staying. Just like the day before, there were around 200 people who queued to get some vegan stew & bread. Some of them were homeless & hungry, most on a low income, a lot of them elderly, a lot 'alcoholics', some people were just curious & surprised to get food for free & a few were just pesky hippies & friends of the FNB crew. Helsinki is probably one of the 'richest' cities in Europe, & it's kinda alarming & indicative of the type of economy/society we live in that so many people live in poverty.

As my Finnish is limited to 'hyvää rouaka' ('enjoy your food') & a few other choice phrases it was difficult to communicate with most people beyond the obligatory nods & smiles. However I met one woman who used to live in England. She was one of 'the original flower children' & still kept to her hippy ideals. She told me how she lived on welfare benefits of some kind & as Helsinki was so expensive & geographically spread out she found it difficult to get out & around as much as she would like to. She really appreciated what FNB were doing & I was dead impressed when she told me that when some local trees were gonna be cleared to make way for luxury apartments she had chained herself on to them in protest.

Anyway we served the food & then it was back to the Peace Station to quickly prepare for the next activities of the day – the G8 demo. The G8 were meeting in Genoa & we were taking part in a large solidarity demonstration in the city centre & at the Italian embassy. (That's in solidarity with the anti-G8 actions, not the G8!).

The demo was pretty colourful, with around 300/400 people taking part. There was some great street theatre going on & we took over the streets of the city centre & marched to the Italian Embassy. The Embassy was annoyed for some time & police & security had a hard time keeping people out of the grounds & off walls etc. Nothing exceptional happened, but there was a good feeling & we met a lot of cool people.

Back at the Peace Station we were all knackered, & having dinner along with some friends we picked up at the demo. Some of the guys were following the events from Genoa on the net and were bringing reports every couple of minutes. It was a good day, everyone was having fun & it felt empowering to be involved in these events.

I think it was Hanke that brought the news that someone had been shot dead by the Italian police/military. There was a stunned silence, a sense of disbelief. A lot of us had friends in Genoa & there were tears in the room. We'd all felt connected to a revolution that was happening. Happening not just in Genoa but also within us, within this group of people & within other groups & individuals in towns, villages & cities throughout the world.

But we didn't expect this.

Capitalism is brutal. Everyday hundreds of people die as a result of the inequalities inherent in the global economy. Sometimes it's directly by a bomb or by gun. Sometimes it's because a government has been forced to restructure its economy away from basic healthcare to increasing exports. Sometimes it's the slow suicide of depression/pollution/alienation. We all know this.

But we were not prepared for the death of this man. Shot in the head. It could have been one of us. It was not abstract. It was not far away. It was here, & now.

After some time, we got to planning. It was difficult to know how to react to this, but we all agreed that we had to do something.

In the morning we had planned to spend the weekend on a nearby island 'eco-village', but we postponed the trip so as we could take part in the action in the city centre. About 50 people sat in a circle in the main square in Helsinki. Like us, most people were stunned & seemed unsure of what to do. We (the FNB camp) staged a die-in through the busy shopping streets. We dressed all in black and wore black armbands, & walked slowly & soberly through the streets in silence. I guess we looked like a performance arts troupe, & attracted a lot of attention. Then we died. One person screamed & dropped to the ground & then we all did. We lay motionless on the ground for a long-time. In this time our bodies were chalked around & messages about the G8 chalked on the ground. We slowly arose and continued our funeral procession to another busy spot & started all over again.

I'm not sure what this meant to people in the city. Maybe a futile gesture? But to us it was important. Important not to let the moment pass; unnoticed, uncommented on.

The rest of the day we spent on the eco-village. We cooked food in the fire, drank beer & got whipped with birch leaves in a wood sauna, swam in the lake, had a naked sheep shit fight (Ireland Vs Poland), talked round the fire, & rowed a boat through the night sky.

SHUT THEM DOWN: WTO SEATTLE NOV 30, 1999

Patrick Reinsborough has been involved in environmental work for the past 10 years working in the broader Earth First! movement. In the last couple of years he's been working as a grassroots co-ordinator with the Rainforest Action Network, which is an international network of direct action orientated environmental & human rights group working to protect the last of the world's forests and support traditional forest people. He took part in the action against the WTO in Seattle on 30 Nov 1999. This interview was recorded for the direct action against apathy radio show on Belfast Autonomous Radio Collective in December 1999.

Tell us about the Nov 30 Day of Action in Seattle. What happened, how was it organised? Give us an eyewitness account of the event.

Through the tear gas dodging the plastic bullets... What happened in Seattle was really amazing for American politics, particularly radical politics. There are lots of people working on their own issues & campaigns but it's been very rare that people have been able to unite & take on the big picture to really target corporate domination, to attack that & get that out to the world. The World Trade Organisation action represented an incredible opportunity for that, an incredibly broad range of people were able to get involved in it. There were a lot of people coming together, environmentalists, human rights activists, indigenous sovereigntists, trade union activists - you had people working on issues all around the world.

The WTO is an example of how incredibly twisted capitalism is. It's a new global government that's being imposed upon us, it's a rule by the corporations, of the corporations, for the corporations, so they can push their extremist economic policies of neo-liberalism & free trade down our throats to put the profits of corporations before any considerations of the environment, any consideration of human rights, any considerations about local communities.

There's a lot of different levels of critique of the WTO & the one I think stole the day thankfully was the one that said the WTO are a bunch of wankers behind closed doors & they need to be abolished! There's no way to reform the WTO, we need to literally shut them down & bring the world's attention to it by doing so. There was a call put out for Nov 30, the first day of their meeting in Seattle, to physically blockade their meeting, to prevent them from meeting. That call went out far & wide & brought together lots of different people to Seattle.

There was a convergence with a group called Art & Revolution who bring together puppeteers, performance artists as well as political activists & they'd been organising a series of convergences around North America for the last couple of years. So a big one was planned for the 10 days leading up to the day of action a time for people to get together and make puppets, props, banners, to form affinity groups & build any technical devices needed to help the blockade. It was a very simple framework, put out the call & hope that people would come & sure enough people came by the hundreds & thousands.

Do you know how many people were there?

Well there's lots of different reports. In the actual direct action that was planned we met in the morning & the goal was to shut down the meeting there was between 5 & 10 thousand that actually showed up at 7am in the morning with an affinity group that did that. But that was just the core. There were also a number of other mobilisations with an incredible cross section of civic society there to fight against the WTO with a lot of different critiques.

One of the things that brought a lot of people into the city was a labour march that was organised by the US' largest Union AFLCO which is an umbrella corporate union & they've a very limited critique of the WTO. They wanted some labour side agreements & they wanted their seat at the table, to have their rubber stamp on corporations terrorising the planet rather than disrupt them. They brought in 40,000 people for their march & it was set to be less confrontational and it had a legal permit to pass within 3 blocks of the Seattle Convention Centre where the meeting was happening but because so many thousands of people came along for that there were multiple waves of people who came along to join the blockade. So the total numbers of people who were involved in the actions throughout the day probably ranged from somewhere between 80-100,000. It's the kind of thing where nobody knows but there was a hell of a lot of people on the streets.

I've heard there were good links made between Environmental activists & the Trade Union movement which is something we've seen in the UK with Reclaim The Streets hooking up with the Liverpool Dockers. Is this happening a lot in the States?

I'd say that Seattle has been the culmination of a lot of work that's been done to bring environmentalists & trade union representatives together. I think it was very successful. One of my favourite images from the whole day was this giant burly teamster truck driver holding a sign saying 'teamsters & turtles together at last' at a street rave next to 250 people dressed in sea turtle costumes (sea turtle protection has been gutted by the WTO). That's an image that I think resonated with a lot of people. There was incredible solidarity in the streets things, that don't usually happen, long haired scruffy forest defenders who've the real skills to technically blockade things with their lock boxes & tripods & barricades effectively set up & are joined by fairly rank & file trade unionists.

With the labour march the trade union bosses kind of came in and tried to pull their people back saying 'no you can't hang out with those radicals who're trying to blockade the meeting, how are we supposed to march in and demand our seat at the table if they're blockading the meeting'. They managed to pull back and actually thwart some of these alliances that were happening, but they happened none the less. One of the processions that started at 7am in the morning of Nov 30 was led by locked-out steelworkers so they defied

the conventional wisdom of CAO and the mainstream unions and they said 'we're forming an important alliance', and they were kind of the bridge between both worlds and they helped to make sure that tens of thousands of people broke off from the labour march and supported the blockades and that was the key to the success of the whole day.

It's really inspiring to see those connections been made rather than the usual arguments 'they don't want anyone to have jobs', 'they don't care about the environment'.

Yeah that's the classic that's always used by the bosses in the United States to keep the workers and environmentalists separated, while the bosses screw the workers and the environment. One of the great phrases that's come out of these great alliances that the steelworkers are using is that 'there's no jobs on a dead planet'. The response that we use, which starts to get people thinking, is in order to save the planet we need to restructure the economy to be a place for people and we need to put that back in balance.

In Seattle there was a lot of police violence. What was your experience of this?

I got tear gassed a lot, the police used tear gas and pepper spray. One of the most disturbing things we've discovered recently is that they ran out of tear gas and relied on the military to provide them with more tear gas. They were either provided with some sort of non-lethal nerve agent or with tear gas that was contaminated with some sort of insecticide that operates as a neurotoxin. It shows how outgunned they were cause there were so many people on the streets. Instead of being able to rely upon the traditional methods of arresting them all and carting them off to jail, they relied on brutality. They started brutalizing people early in the morning. People had deployed around 7.30 and 8am and the entire convention centre was blockaded. I think that's probably about the time that the local police department started getting pressure from the Clinton administration and the various powers that be saying 'I can't believe you're gonna let something as lowly as the people of this country get in the way of us having our very important free trade talks'.

A lot of officials of different governments got gassed as well?

Well yeah, after that point they sort of strategically broke one entrance so that they could start getting delegates in. I was at the intersection where they first chose to use tear gas and from monitoring their communications we had 2 or 3 mins warning as the order passed around their communications network to use chemical agents so we had warning and the opportunity to de-escalate the whole intersection thing. It was a fairly rowdy protest, people were boisterous and the word spread through that they were about to use tear gas so everybody deescalated the situation by sitting down and locking arms and saying 'we're not moving, we're not moving', 'cause theoretically the police in the United States are only supposed to use chemical agents when their lives are threatened and so we were making it very clear that these protestors

were no threat. They proceeded to use it anyway, and to use a great deal of pepper spray.

It's brutal stuff – the extracts of jalapeño and javañero peppers, which are incredible hot peppers. They spray it in your eyes, your mouth and your nose, it's much worse than tear gas actually cause it's hard to get out and it just burns, you feel like you're about to die. They just used tons and tons of tear gas and right away started firing plastic bullets into the crowd to disperse this area and just charged in with their batons and started whacking everybody.

A not-very-comprehensive history of resistance against global economic summits

Madrid 94

The 50th anniversary of the IMF and the World Bank, which was celebrated in Madrid, Spain in October 1994, was the scene of a protest by an ad-hoc coalition of what would later be called anti-globalisation movements. They tried to drown the bankers' parties in noise from outside and held other public forms of protest under the motto "50 Years is Enough". While Spanish King Juan Carlos was addressing the participants in a huge exhibition hall, two Greenpeace activists climbed to the top and showered the bankers with fake dollar bills carrying the slogan "No \$\$ for Ozone Layer Destruction". A number of the demonstrators were sent to the notorious Carabanchel prison.

J18

One of the first international anti-globalisation protests was organised in dozens of cities around the world on June 18, 1999, with those in London and Eugene, Oregon most often noted. The drive was called the Carnival Against Capitalism, or J18 for short. The protest in Eugene turned into a riot where local anarchists drove police out of a small park.

Seattle/N30

The second major mobilisation of the movement, known as N30, occurred on November 30, 1999, when protesters blocked delegates' entrance to WTO meetings in Seattle, USA. The protests forced the cancellation of the opening ceremonies and lasted the length of the meeting until December 3.

You mentioned before in the press conference they tried to deny that this was going on.

Yeah. There was a press conference that the police had within half an hour of the first attacks on the protest and the attacks ran all day after this point. They denied that they were using any plastic bullets but fortunately there were activists that had gone to the press conference and sort of hijacked it and were able to hold up the plastic bullets and say 'these are what they are shooting at us, are you denying that they are shooting this'. All day long it was just a joke, even the media knew they were lying cause they were out on the streets and were getting tear-gassed - several camera crews. There was a lot of activist media but this was the corporate media from the local news stations and their TV crews got beat. There was actual footage on the local television.

Global days of action have been happening for a while now, before this was June 18, and there've been getting bigger and bigger. What do you see as the future for this and what long-term movement can we build from these global days of action?

Well I think that's a really really important question. It's something that we've seen at one level works. We can turn a lot of people out in different cities on these days and I think it helps people's local organising - to know there's going to be related actions all over the world. I think that model of saying to people that you organise whatever is appropriate in your community is a good one, it provides for local autonomy and it provides for diversity. Those have got to be the cornerstones of any global movement.

What I'd like to see us doing - and I've seen some of this in the critiques of June 18 - is that we need to get a much deeper understanding of the complexities of the system that we're fighting. I think a lot of resistance that we can put out there to the system actually in some way strengthens it cause they see that. It's a very resistant system that relies on an incredible lot of propaganda to keep the majority of people in line, and to marginalize any criticism of their system and the incredible destructiveness of capitalism. So we have to be very careful and strategic and find ways that we can really disrupt things in a way that will create the sort of mind bomb that will win us more allies and build on the solidarity that we've had.

Seattle represents a lot of important lessons in the sense that in the so-called democracies of the global north there's a real limit where you can just get enough people, where they rely so much on our obedience to keep this system going. And when we find ways to withdraw our obedience in a mass action that is truly disruptive, I think it's a very powerful thing. We have to constantly learn from our mistakes and build a stronger movement. It's very easy to become the permanent resistance - oh another day of action lets go do this or lets take over a building or, as happened in Seattle, an interesting phenomenon was about the black blocs that were functioning there. They were organised separately from the mass action that

went on 'cause the mass action had various guidelines for non-violence, to be as inclusive as possible, that there would be no property destruction. So separately some of the various anarchists around north America - and I'm sure joined by allies around the world - formed a black bloc where they were all masked up so they couldn't be identified and attacked symbolic corporate targets - Nike, the Gap, Fidelity Investments - smashed some windows and destroyed some signs. I think the overall estimates, I don't know if they can be believed; that the Seattle police put out was that \$3million worth of damage had been done.

This has been incredibly controversial and very divisive, unfortunately, in the way different groups and different political critiques involved in this alliance have reacted to that. A lot of the groups that had organised the mass action were very displeased that this had happened, they felt they stole the story away. Needless to say the media focused on that, the police used it as a cover to hide their brutality, to say 'people were rioting and they were breaking windows'.

I think it raises a lot of questions about the need to be creative, the need to not be constrained to traditional protest methods but the need to also understand how to work most strategically. I don't necessarily have an opinion about the actions the black bloc took on that day. It's important to draw that distinction - people who are working above ground and people who organise mass actions need to be very careful and make sure they're not jeopardising the work of other people. It's very important that we never called property destruction 'violence' for instance, which is what the media likes to do.

Unfortunately some of the groups that were involved in organising the mass action were not as good about that. I think that we also have to realise that smashing some windows on some multinational corporation's store front, y'know they're a lot stronger than that, their system is much much stronger than that and those type of actions which may be reaffirming in the short term, in some ways it just makes it easier for them to tromp out the storm troopers and gun us all down in the streets.

Yeah it can be very euphoric whenever McDonalds is getting smashed up. But its important to ask where does it lead to, & not just get carried away in the moment without trying to think 'well what are we actually trying to achieve?' It's easy to get caught up in that.

That certainly happened to some extent but overwhelmingly I think the lesson of Seattle was that it was incredible how strategic people were. People came there for a specific action, it was thought out in terms of a framework for affinity groups to take action. What we can do is disrupt this meeting by blockading it, here is where all the hotels are, here's the maps. All that information was available to affinity groups when they arrived in town, they had a few days to plan, they had a framework created of actions.

Our spokes councils were happening every night and repre-

representatives from each of the clusters of affinity groups would come and one person would speak on their behalf and say 'we're gonna take this section of the pie'. The area around the convention centre was divided up into a pie, into 13/14 different slices and that framework of saying 'do what every you're gonna do but lets keep the common goal of shutting down all traffic into the convention centre'. It became a very powerful direct action because the message was there - why were tens of thousands of people putting their safety on the line by risking tear gas and pepper spray and concussion grenades and risking arrest, and why are they doing that to disrupt this meeting? And it did make, in America (where the World Trade Organisation was completely unknown), the front page of every newspaper and the first part of every television broadcast, so it was incredibly effective that way. In the short term it made massive leaps forward in the campaign to educate people about the horrors of corporate globalisation but we'll see what does it mean for the long term and how will these alliances be continued.

These days of actions are openly organised, it's not an underground thing. People are saying that we've to stand up and be counted and go out and do these things and it's just by having enough people to go ahead and do that. How important is that?

I think for me it's very clear, I mean, I'm an above ground organiser. In America we have a real police state, there are these 2 levels between the freedoms we supposedly have and the actual reality of police repression against activists. That's encouraged a lot of people to organise underground. To me the lesson from the American experience is that that's a very dangerous model. It allows you to be marginalized, and separated from a community that can support you. Ultimately it can make it easier for them to liquidate you.

Some of the Earth First! organisers in California who were actually bombed in 1990 - Judy Barry & Darrel Cherny - were organisers making the same kinda connections, bringing together timber workers & forest activists. Then the FBI came in & charged them with being terrorists for transporting a bomb that had been used to attempt to murder them. There was a political trial & they were set up for this. Now it's pretty clear that two activists with a 25 year record of non-violent struggle hadn't over night turned to transporting anti-personnel mines in their car but the government was able to use it as an opportunity. Now if they had been underground organisers there would be no way for the community to rise up and support and defend them. The key to them being able to defend themselves was being above ground.

A not-very-comprehensive history of resistance against global economic summits

G8 Birmingham, Britain

In 1998 the first official G8 summit was held in Birmingham, Britain. 70,000 protesters formed a ring around the G8 summit to demand debt cancellation. The first 'Global Street Party' was held in solidarity in 30 countries around the world.

EU/G8 conference Cologne, France

Thousands of demonstrators surrounded the 1999 EU/G8 summit to reject global poverty, racism and war with the slogan "The End of Modesty - Storm The Summit". July 18 saw a global day of action in solidarity to the demonstrators at Cologne.

G8 Okinawa, Japan

In 2000 tens of thousands of G8 protesters made their voices heard in Okinawa, Japan despite the twenty thousand heavily armed police, six navy warships and a two-kilometer nautical exclusion zone.

S26

Protesters converged on Prague holding actions, discussion and carnivals against the IMF and World Bank meeting in September 2000. The protests saw the development of the principle of 'diversity of tactics,' with the physical separation of the protesters according to their preferred levels of confrontation.

S11

In September 2001 thousands of people blockaded the Crown Casino, Melbourne successfully disrupting the World Economic Forum.

FTAA Quebec, Canada

50,000 protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement in Quebec City, Canada. Solidarity protests occur across the Americas, from Buenos Aires to Brazil.

G8 Genoa, Italy

The Genoa Group of Eight Summit protest, 2001, was a dramatic protest, drawing some 300,000 demonstrators. Dozens were hospitalised following clashes with police and night raids by security forces on two schools housing activists and independent journalists. People taken into custody after the raids have alleged severe abuse at the hands of police. A 23-year-old protestor Carlo Giuliani of Genoa, was shot dead by a Carabinieri officer during clashes with police.

'The Good Bus' started as an idea to get autonomous activists from Ireland to the G8 in Evian, not just to take part in blockades & demonstrations, but also to actively be involved in planning them, & to be able to evaluate these actions afterwards.

A bus was just one idea of how to get to Evian. The bus never materialised. A diverse collective of individuals prepared to take action against the nasty corporate elements that fuck up our world did. In all the good bus trip lasted 15 days.

What follows is my view from the bus...

Annemasse, France 26-31 May 03

We arrived in Annemasse tired, weary at around 11pm after two days travelling. We weren't quite sure how we'd find the Anti Capitalist camps when we received our first taste of hospitality from the local people, and within minutes we were being ferried in a van & cars the couple of kilometres to the camp.

We were some of the first people to arrive at the camps, & the first thing I noticed was row upon row of chemical toilets (& my excitement at the thought of days digging shit pits was slightly dashed). There were 2 camps in Annemasse; Intergalactique & VAAG. 'The good bus' decided to put our tents in VAAG, but not pledge any allegiance, & we were attending meetings, discussions & parties in both camps. In fact most of the meetings I took part in were tactical discussions on blockades involving both camps. VAAG was rather more makeshift with homemade communal tents & seats, whereas Intergalactique had fancier marquees & 'real seats'. It was difficult to pin down significant differences between the two camps & much easier to identify similarities.

It was a little difficult at times to get a handle on the camps & our first few days were a little disorientating. Both camps were organised into 'barrios' (neighbourhoods) local areas that organised together to look after the daily needs of the camp (cooking, security, health & safety) & facilitate smaller areas of discussion.

A real credit to the organisers of the camps was the good neighbourly relations with the townsfolk. There were posters around the town to counter media & state sponsored propaganda, & to explain the importance of these actions against the G8. These were not only fly posted around town but actually displayed in shop windows. Everywhere we went people asked us if we were here for the G8 & greeted us with hospitality, the proprietor of an internet café refused payment, a grocer produced a fine selection of cheeses for us to sample, & we were even given a tour of an exotic dancing club when trying to track down a beer!

The main action we took part in Annemasse was a Carnival for the people of the town, to sort of introduce ourselves en masse. Admittedly I'm fairly crap at estimating crowd numbers (better than the police though!) but I'd put it at around 5000-

7000 people taking part with samba, street performance, fly-posting crews, anarcho jazz, flag waving, dancing & general merry making. Police had barricaded several areas in the town but had a very low-key presence. A silent protest was held to remember the police repression in Genoa & to appeal for peace during the actions in Evian.

No Border Action, Genève, Switzerland 30 May 03

Friday was the No Border Action (<http://www.noborder.org>) in Genève. This demo was 'officially sanctioned' with a negotiated route with the police & the organisers had asked the participants not to engage in property destruction (during this demo). The reason for this was to avoid arrests as many people taking part in the demo did not have papers to be in Switzerland & any arrests would certainly result in deportation for them.

We crossed the French/Swiss border in style by squatting the train from Annemasse to Genève. Squatting trains is fun & became a theme over the coming days. You basically get on a train with lots of people (there were several hundred of us) and wait for it to take you to your destination. We were concerned that the Swiss police may be expecting us in Genève, so we alighted at an unofficial stop in the suburbs by pulling the communication cord (emergency stop). Support from drivers was obvious as they waved us off signalling their horn as we jumped from the train.

We moved en mass through suburbs waving, cheering & singing 'Óró 'sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile', doing our bit to promote the Irish Language to our European comrades. The first thing that struck me when we hooked up with the larger demo (& certainly something that would fit nicely in an Irish context) was the sight of a tractor pulling a heavy metal sound system! The demo consisted of around 10,000 people & was a whirlwind tour of who's who in nasty capitalism in Genève.

The first building we stumbled upon on was the WTO headquarters. It was fairly surreal when a banging sound coming from the gates promptly turned into the sight of the huge fortress gates swinging open. A police photographer on the roof of the building was getting rather snap happy when he was narrowly missed by a green flare. Several more flares were thrown in the direction of the building. Our affinity group decided to move on with the larger demonstration in respect & solidarity for the people without papers. There was a real sense of euphoria & surprise at the ease at which the WTO was breached. Police & activists showed restraint in a situation that had a lot of potential to turn nasty.

At the International Migration Office tear gas was deployed after a few windows got smashed & some newspapers set on fire. The rest of the demo went off without anything too dramatic happening, & was a whole lot of fun, & to my knowledge without arrest. Other buildings visited included the UN, & the Embassies of several countries. The police were fairly low key, we were hoping this was how the 'peace loving' Swiss authorities may play it in the coming days.

Lausanne, Switzerland 31 May-2 June

After another morning of border crossings 'san papiers' on foot, tram & train we arrived in Lausanne. A number of 'the good bus' crew had been participating in blockade strategy meetings & felt that Lausanne was the place we were most needed.

First impression of the Lausanne camp was '*what the fuck have we been doing the last 6 days in Annemasse!*' The location was stunning on the shores of lake Genève with the Alps looming impressively over Evian on the opposite shore. There were 2 camps in Lausanne one a squatted public park & the other Camp Bourdonnette an official camp.

In Lausanne I attended an NVDA (non violent direct action) workshop hosted by the RANT network from the US. This workshop rocked & proved to be essential over the course of the coming day. I took part in a Pink & Silver tactics meeting, sharing ideas between affinity groups for the following days blockade.

(7 of the Good Bus crew decided to take part in the Aubonne Bridge Action where two climbers closed off a motorway by suspending from a bridge. One person was seriously injured when police cut the rope.)

11 of the Irish crew took part in the Lausanne blockade; I was part of a pink & silver affinity group taking part in the rolling blockade. With a few hours sleep under our wing we assembled at 6am on Sunday 1st June for the rolling pink & silver / black bloc blockade. The black bloc looked particularly sexy massed into several thousand & with some pretty impressive barricading equipment & a punk rock sound system. Not to be outdone pink & silver had 'rhythms of resistance' samba, a solar/wind powered sound system, dancers, a fuckload of radical cheerleaders, bubbles & squeaky balloons.

We moved through the city in jubilant form. There were 7 strategic points that we aimed to disrupt to stop G8 infrastructure reaching the Lausanne port the crossing point to Evian. Pink bloc created physical barriers in our wake by liberating crowd barriers, billboards, skips, flowerpots & anything that was available. These were heavily fortified and strengthened by black bloc, with the contents of local building sites & fire.

There was a short stand off at the Olympic Museum that was protected by fences & we were doused with water hoses (police were not impressed when they got squirted with a super soaker in retaliation!) In discussions within the affinity groups it was unsure if we had enough numbers to split into groups for multiple simultaneous blockades. Whilst this seemed to our affinity group the most strategic course of action there were obvious safety concerns. We decided to stay en mass for the time being.

Tear gas was first deployed when the pink & silver block decided to try & dance our way through a police line. At first we were sprinkled with water cannons (& were concerned it

may contain pepper spray) & then tear gas canisters were shot over peoples heads & into the middle of the crowd. Luckily most people (myself included) were well prepared for tear gas, with goggles, bandanas soaked in lemon juice & gas/dust mask. The gas stings like fuck on your face & it's difficult to breathe. A few people without any gear were falling on the ground & those of us better prepared helped pick them up & get them to a safe area. We had to run, as there was such a heavy deployment of gas. Immediately as we got out of the tear gas area decontamination groups sprayed us with Maalox solution, which usually comes in mint flavour & is extremely refreshing.

We were repeatedly tear gassed within the space of several hours. Police deployed Flash grenades with relish, (I know of at least one person who was hit by a tear gas canister & one injured by a flash grenade). Many locals from Lausanne were also getting caught in the crossfire, however this didn't make them anymore antagonistic towards us & at one point some townsfolk were handing out juice & strawberries. It was quite an empowering feeling to be continually under assault by the police but managing to remain calm & dance, sing, & continue our blockades. The sound system & samba were fantastic.

Most of our affinity group were missing since the first deployment of tear gas. We heard that around a hundred black & pinks were surrounded by police, & tried to make our way towards this group to provide support. However it seemed more & more like every way we turned we were being blocked by police with tear gas. Eventually we seemed to end up back at the campsite.

Bourdonnette Camp Siege, Lausanne, Switzerland 1 June 03

In a sense our bloc did not really decide to go back to the camp. It retrospect we may have been herded by police blockading & repeated tear gassing, until it seemed there was nowhere else to go. Many of us were certainly not ready to go home as we heard the British & US delegations were arriving within the hour, but some of our group was missing & concerns for their safety had to take precedent over the blockade.

With mixed emotions & confusion we returned to the camp. Within minutes it was clear that our camp was surrounded. Not just by police but huge military style ambulance vehicles. In every direction you could see large mobilisations of police. What ensued was in my opinion a great credit to our organisational capabilities. When the Swiss police began their siege of the Bourdonnette camp, activists in the camp immediately gathered to collectively discuss a course of action (including translations between, French, English, German, Spanish & Italian). A consensus was reached that we would not show our passports/id cards to the police in solidarity with those without papers & anyone who was blacklisted. We decided to non-violently resist arrest by sitting down & locking arms.

Police began to forcibly remove individuals in groups of around 10. By the time it came for me to be dragged away (around four hours into the siege) all fear had dissipated & a surreal carnival atmosphere ensued. We'd just danced in a Congo line around the police, & playfully jostled for pole position to be taken away first (*anything to get out of the hot sun*). Theatrical parodies of police repression were staged between police lines & the activists non-violently resisting arrest. My favourite chant on the day was the Sham 69 classic '*when the kids are united*'. There was a real sense of solidarity & those of us who felt we had less at stake were happy to volunteer to be detained first in hope that those without papers would not be detained.

My hands were bound behind my back in plastic cable tied exceedingly tight. I was held in a marquee with other detainees for around 40 minutes & then bundled into the back of a truck with around 10 others. The windows were blacked out & we were taken to a police station/detention centre less than half an hour drive from the camp. I was one of the first to be taken out of the van (having repeatedly asked to use the toilet). I was asked to stand against a wall in a garage for about 10/15 minutes. I was then taken inside & searched, my passport taken & photocopied, my personal possessions removed, photographed, & taken to a cell. The police were courteous & the bed in the cell was the best sleep I'd had all week. After around 4 hours in a small cell with new Swiss & German friends I was taken into what seemed suspiciously like a line up room (a big mirror at one end) given back my possessions bundled back into another van with around 6 others & dropped off close to the camp where we'd originally been detained. I was detained around 4pm & released around 11pm.

At no time was I given any explanation as to why I was detained, or given access to a translator, or at no time was I told I was being arrested or given any information in regard to my legal rights.

It wasn't until the next morning that we had accounted for everyone from 'the good bus' & then it was time for a break. The 'good bus' spent several days chilling out in France in an attempt to unwind & to make sense of everything we just experienced. We held an evaluation meeting to talk about what we had learnt, what we could improve upon & how we can apply our new skills to our activism in Ireland. We've got some good ideas. Watch this space...

More coverage of Evian at www.indymedia.org/g8/

A not-very-comprehensive history of resistance against global economic summits

G8 Evian, Geneva

More than 150,000 people marched over the French/Swiss border to call for the G8 leaders to do more on debt and development, and to act accountably to the people who their decisions effect.

WTO Cancun, Mexico

Thousands of people from all over the globe gathered at Cancun, Mexico to protest the WTO's fifth ministerial meeting in 2003. Lee Kyang Hae, 55, head of South Korea's Federation of Farmers and Fishermen, stabbed himself in protest against the WTO. The meeting collapsed with no progress.

WEF Davos, Switzerland

The World Economic Forum in Davos (January, 2003) triggered anti-globalisation protests across Switzerland. Many protestors wanting to enter Davos to demonstrate against the WEF were turned away. Protest occurred all over Switzerland including large street action in Berne. The WEF was again held in Davos 2006 seeing a large campaign aimed at 'dancing out WEF'.

G8 Gleneagles

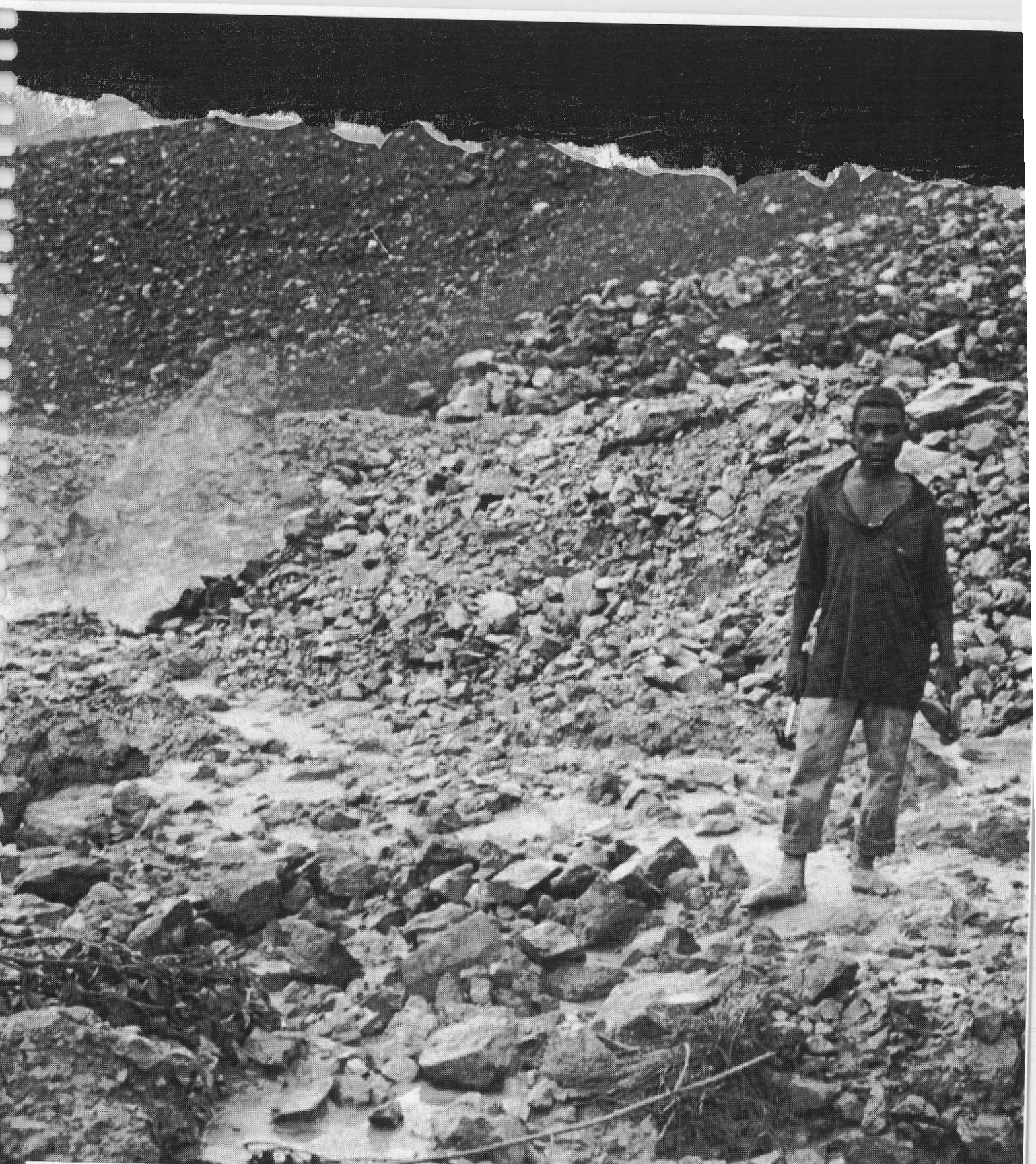
Thousands disrupted the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland in July 2005. A counter-mobilisation, centred on rural camping convergence spaces, enabling multiple blockades of the roads surrounding the summit, caused disruptions to the delegates and staff.

G8 St Petersburg

The Russian "Network against the G8" called for protests against the summit and invited people from around the world to come to Russia. A series of protests and events occurred around in and around the city, where activists faced heavy repression and police harassment.

2006 G20 - Melbourne, Australia...





WEALTH WARNING

THE G20 IS COMING TO TOWN!

The 2006 G20 meeting of finance ministers, reserve bank governors and heads of the World Bank and IMF will take place in Melbourne on November 18-19. This will be the most significant gathering in Melbourne of people responsible for pushing corporate-led globalisation, neoliberalism and capitalism since the World Economic Forum in 2000.

MAIN IMAGE: RIVERINE WASTE DISPOSAL AT THE PORGERA MINE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA.
WASTE WATER LACED WITH TAILINGS RUNS FROM A PIPE RUPTURE DIRECTLY INTO THE KAIYA RIVER.

StopG20.org



DISOBEDIENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE:

Disobedience and Non-violence: The Battle of the Story in the Case of Scott Parkin.

This is a revised version of an article that first appeared in Arena Journal, New Series, No 24, 2005.

"If you do evil, then you will be punished."

- Police officer arresting student activist in Sydney, 16 Sept '05

The detention and deportation of Scott Parkin after the Forbes 500 event in Sydney last year and the arrests of two Sydney-based activists for allegedly de-arresting protesters at a student rally presented challenges to activists communicating through the mainstream media. In attempting to defend the legitimacy of various protest activities, activists must now think very clearly about discourses of disobedience, non-violence and so-called 'violent' protest.

Parkin, a history teacher and anti-war activist with the organization Houston Global Awareness, was detained by the Australian Federal Police on 10 September this year on his way to the Irene warehouse in Brunswick, Melbourne. Parkin was to present a workshop on strategies for the anti-war movement, including 'direct-action' protest. His tourist visa had just been cancelled by the Department of Immigration after ASIO advised that he had encouraged 'violent protest' at his previous workshops in Sydney. Fellow Australian activists were stunned that the government had targeted Parkin, as he was known by the activists who attended his workshops for teaching specifically non-violent strategies. (1)

In his defence, activists and lawyers conducted a vigorous media campaign focusing heavily on Parkin as a peaceful protestor whose human rights and civil liberties had been violated.

Over the past year, not enough debate has taken place amongst activists regarding the most effective strategies against the introduction of voluntary student unionism (VSU) and changes to industrial relations legislation. The so-called appropriate channels — of government lobbying, letter-writing, and what Parkin and SmartMeme call the 'Battle of the Story' in the mainstream media (2) — have all been exhausted. Yet on these matters the upper echelons of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the National Union of Students (NUS) have been reluctant to support general strike action and other forms of resistance that threaten the operations of the state, employers and universities. (3) Neilson and Mitropoulos believe that 'the political counterweight of a politicised student movement has largely disappeared, or at least become mostly restricted to those with family wealth, which is much the same thing'. (4) An increasingly elitist tertiary entrance rank system, the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), upfront fees, and the dwindling funds for state schools, mean universities are hardly the natural habitat of young people whose material interests are intimately bound up with the capacity to organize effective political opposition. Yet beyond these issues of structural change the question remains: how should effective political resistance be envisaged? History shows that sustained disobedience may involve a variety of techniques,

including forms of protest other than non-violence and passive disobedience. This is something that very few people seem willing to entertain in the present climate.

The Parkin incident was indicative of a subtle yet significant shift in the type of acceptable discourses that are employed by activists when engaging with the mainstream media. In terms of real resistance to state oppression, the events surrounding Parkin's deportation facilitated a retreat from discourses of revolution and deep social transformation.

The activists who broke the story to the media late at night on 10 September titled the press release 'US Peace Activist Detained as "Threat to National Security"', and were thereafter told what to say by 'official spokespeople' from Greenpeace. These spokespeople portrayed Parkin as a 'peaceful', friendly activist. Unfortunately, this strategy involved distancing him from other so-called violent protesters. Meanwhile, the arrests of two Sydney-based activists went completely unreported.

In the week prior to the Sydney Forbes 500 protest in 2005, a person was arrested at Sydney University by plain-clothed police in relation to a rally against VSU on 10 August. On 16 September, six days after the arrest of Parkin, a Sydney University student was also arrested in relation to incidents at the same VSU protest. These two people were charged with assaulting police and obstructing arrest. When one of the person's friends inquired as to the charge, the arresting officer responded, 'If you do evil, then you will be punished'. (5)

On 22 September 2005, the specific details of Parkin's alleged endorsement of violent protest were revealed in The Australian. Greg Sheridan and John Kerin reported that Parkin's direct-action training on 10 September would teach tactics such as de-arresting and throwing marbles under the feet of police horses. (6) The accuracy of these allegations is strongly disputed. At direct-action training workshops in the lead up to the Forbes protest, Parkin said that de-arresting was not a good idea and that tiger faeces was a better deterrent to police horses. Parkin's preferred tactics included dressing up in animal suits. No doubt Attorney General Phillip Ruddock, Justice Minister Chris Ellison, Sheridan and Kerin all hoped that by repeating the words 'Scott Parkin' and 'violent protestor' in the same sentence, the language might catch on and develop connotations of evil in public debate, in the manner of 'children overboard' and 'weapons of mass destruction'. (7)

While defence of the right to perform street theatre is crucial, it must be recognized that the state's rhetoric on "national security" is now directed at activists whose protest tactics include de-arresting. (8) De-arresting is a protest tactic that involves freeing someone from police custody before they are removed from the site of the protest. It is a defence tactic against police violence and ensures that protesters are not separated from the group. When faced with the need to protect one's friends from police violence, de-arresting is commonly considered a legitimate tactic and yet it is not seen

as non-violent. In the same way that de-arresting has been demonized by *The Australian* (9) and by Parkin himself, (10) the rejection of strikes and office occupations by Trades Hall and NUS reflects a renunciation of these tactics.

The activists from Sydney University are being charged with assaulting police and have been labelled 'evil'. While activist were outraged by false accusations of Parkin's violence, broader discussions about the legitimacy of self-defence from police violence remained off-limits. The space for resistance and opposition necessarily closes when even activists refuse to recognize that social transformation has in the past required something other than non-violent protest, and may well do so again in the future.

When it comes to protests in Australia, violence or the potential thereof is usually seized upon and articulated as 'evil' by government representatives keen to marginalize dissent. As far as the corporate media are concerned, violent protest is newsworthy. (11) Up to six months prior to the S11 protest against the World Economic Forum at Melbourne's Crown Casino in 2000, News Limited and Fairfax papers were reporting allegations of plans for violent protests. Content analysis of S11 coverage by *The Herald Sun*, *The Age*, *The Australian* and *The Australian Financial Review* revealed that 49.2 per cent of media articles used the word 'violent' or similar to describe the protest, while 43.3 per cent of visuals portrayed some physical conflict between police and protestors. (12)

According to Grenfell and Lacy, the media contextualize violence at protests, even symbolic violence and retaliations to police violence, in terms of its failure to 'win over the middle ground' of public opinion. (13) This contextualization not only masks the concerns of protestors through demonizing tactics, but more significantly, it situates proactive, physical protest as a tactical 'no-go' zone.

Events such as the S11 protest and the over-policing and arrests of activists provide opportunities to articulate a discourse of resistance that challenges contemporary manifestations of the violence embodied in capitalism. Sian Sullivan argues, as does Pierre Bourdieu, that structural violence becomes embodied, internalized and legitimized in a way that maintains hegemonic domination. Sullivan frames anti-capitalist violence as an outward expression that exposes the violence of capitalism. (14) Under this analysis, violence at protests can be seen as an explosion on to the public stage of a 'hidden transcript'. (15) The Wombles state: 'Capitalism kills ... If we really mean this then to just go in to the streets and party is an entirely inadequate response. It is right to respond to overwhelming injustice with anger ...'. (16)

In the particular political context of Australia, it is not a popular view to advocate violent insurrection. In his book, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia*, Sean Scalmer traces the history of Australian protest movements, with specific reference to protest tactics that are constructed to have a visual public message. (17)

Debates about the effectiveness of visual-based protest aside, Scalmer's argument that non-violence is the most widely accepted form of political protest in Australia cannot be refuted. There is huge scepticism in this country towards the *Valdsromantiker* — the person who is captured by the romanticism of violent struggle, the exhilaration, fear, adrenaline and existential positioning of the physical confrontation. (18) At times, distaste for violence has the unintended effect of closing off the political imagination and relinquishing too much ground.

For example, during their group protest, the spokespeople for the S11 Alliance inherited the task of representing all those who attended. Their statements tended to collapse the various discourses about violence and non-violence into a singular line. It was a line that failed to challenge the mainstream media and government in demonizing proactive physical resistance and self-defence against police violence. (19) The question is: what are the consequences of trading an ensemble of historically sanctioned modes of opposition in order to maintain oneself as a player within the liberal public sphere?

For the S11 Alliance and Greenpeace, constructing discourses that at face value appeared inclusive and in favour of liberties effectively entailed the exclusion of local autonomous activists and local issues. This means the discourses of resistance employed by these organizations were at best incomplete and unhistorical, and at worst complicit in what they wish to oppose.

1. His 'criminal' history amounts to an arrest at a protest against Exxon Mobil in the United States while dressed as a fluffy tiger. He wasn't charged and therefore has no criminal record. See D. Mills, 'US Peace Activist Detained as "Threat to National Security"', *Green Left Weekly*, 21 September, 2005.
2. See <www.smartmeme.com/downloads/BattleoftheStory-Explain.pdf>, accessed 23 September 2005.
3. At a mass meeting of Trades Hall delegates in Melbourne in September 2005, leader Brian Boyd failed to endorse motion amendments calling for general strike action. Similarly, Felix Eldridge, President of the National Union of Students, excoriated student activists who occupied Melbourne's Australian Labor Party headquarters at a VSU protest on 25 August 2005.
4. B. Neilson and A. Mitropoulos, 'Polemos, Universitas', *Borderlands*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2005.
5. Interview between the author and arrested activist, 11 November 2005.
6. G. Sheridan and J. Kerin, 'Deported Activist Was to Teach Tactics of Violence', *The Australian*, 22 September 2005, p. 1.
7. Justice Minister Chris Ellison told Parliament on 13 September that ASIO's role included 'protecting the Australian community from forms of politically motivated violence [and] of course that includes violent protest activity', in J. Kerin and C. Stewart, 'Peace Activist's Training Incites Violence', *The Australian*, 14 September 2005. Ruddock

labelled Parkin a 'violent protestor' in an interview with John Faine on ABC Melbourne radio, Wednesday 14 September.

8. It is important not to assume that the government's treatment of Parkin was an enactment of anti-terrorism legislation. Some white civil libertarians seek to build public opposition to counter-terrorism measures by asserting that "white activists will be targeted next". I am not suggesting that the government's treatment of Parkin resembles the treatment of Muslims who have had houses raided and have been detained, in some cases in solitary confinement, merely on suspicion.

To conflate these very different experiences stinks of insensitivity to the realities of racial targeting.

9. Sheridan and Kerin, 'Deported Activist was to teach tactics of violence.' *The Australian*, 22 September.

10. In a media release on 22 September, Parkin states, 'it is unprincipled to do anything violent at any time, including in a protest situation. During my time in Australia I spoke publicly against techniques to de-arrest a person who has been lawfully detained by the Police because it is against my principles'.

Published on Webdiary, <margokingston.typepad.com >, accessed Wednesday 5 October 2005.

11. Journalists are faced with the pressure to select just fifteen per cent of all available information to present as news, and are further limited by an established consensus amongst media outlets on what constitutes 'news'. See M. Combs and D. Shaw, 'The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 36, 1972-3, p. 184.

12. The sample is 197 articles from April to December 2000, L. Turner, *Hidden Resistances: Mainstream Media Representations of the Anti-Neoliberal Social Movement*, unpublished thesis, University of Melbourne, 2004.

13. D. Grenfell and Lacey, 'Media Violence', *Arena Magazine*, vol. 49, 2000, pp. 8-9.

14. S. Sullivan, "'We Are Heartbroken and Furious': Engaging with Violence in the (Anti-)Globalisation Movement(s)", *CSGR Working Paper*, no. 123/03, January 2004, <www.csgr.org>, accessed 3 March 2005.

15. J. Scott quoted in Sullivan, "'We Are Heartbroken and Furious'", p. 145.

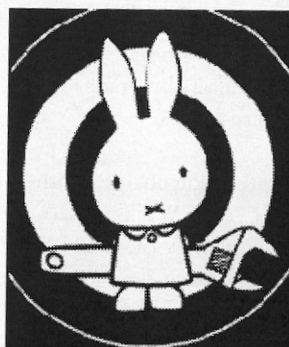
16. WOMBLES in Sullivan, "'We Are Heartbroken and Furious'", p. 31, emphasis theirs.

17. S. Scalmer, 'Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia', Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2000.

18. T. Mueller, 'What's Really under Those Cobblestones? Riots as Political Tools, and the Case of Gothenburg 2001', *Ephemera*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 135-51, 2004, <www.ephemera-web.org/journal/4-2/4-2mueller.pdf>, accessed 2 July, 2005.

19. For example, Peter Boyle from the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) stated, 'It took a lot of work — over the months leading up to S11 and during the actual blockade — on the part of our comrades and some of the saner elements in the S11 Alliance to ensure that these ultralefts' fantasy of a one or two hour stoush with the police was not all the blockade amounted to'. See, 'Australian Politics and Our Party-Building Perspectives After S11', *The Activist*, vol. 10, no. 11, October 2000, <www.dsp.org.au/dsp/20001101.htm>, accessed 2 July 2005.

Thanks to Holly, Sunny Boy and Loz for help with this article.



A Civilian's Guide to DIRECT ACTION What It Is, What It's Good For, How It Works DIRECT ACTION IN A NUTSHELL: A STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE

Direct action, simply put, means cutting out the middleman—solving problems your- self rather than petitioning the authorities or relying on external institutions. Any action that sidesteps regulations and representation to accomplish goals directly is direct action. In a society in which political power, economic capital, and social control are centralised in the hands of an elite, certain forms of direct action are discouraged, to say the least. These forms are of particular interest to those who struggle against hierarchy and oppression. There are countless scenarios in which you might want to use this kind of direct action. Perhaps representatives of despicable multinational corporations are invading your town to hold a summit, and you want to participate in protests against them as more than just another body holding a sign; perhaps they've been there a long time, operating franchises that exploit workers and ravage the environment, and you want to draw attention to or hinder their misdeeds; perhaps you want to organize a festive, community-oriented event such as a street party. Direct action can plant a public garden in an abandoned lot or defend it by paralyzing bulldozers; it can be used to occupy empty buildings to house the homeless or to shut down government offices. Whether you're acting in secret with a trusted friend or in a mass action with thousands of others, the basic elements are the same.

First of All . . .

Brainstorming: Choose a project and devise a plan. If it makes sense for your action to be organized openly, establish a format, such as a public spokescouncil, in which to work out a strategy and tactics. Invite friends, or circulate fliers, or go door to door announcing it. Have a proposal in mind ahead of time, in case no one else does. For more clandestine actions, brainstorm in a secure environment with a trusted friend or two. Keep your ideas to yourselves as you hash them out so you won't have already given them away when you're ready to try them. Brainstorming can start with a problem you want to solve, or a social contribution you want to make; it can be informed by the resources you have, the kind of experience you desire, or the people you want to work with. You can plot a single short adventure, or a long-term campaign. Often, the best brainstorming doesn't happen consciously, but in the course of daydreams and in- formal conversations—it's a good policy to trust that your craziest ideas can become real-

ity and try them out. Even if you are attending a massive event organized by others, always have a plan so you can contribute to it in your own way.

Goals: Establish and prioritize the goals of the action. Who is your action "for"? Is it directed at on-the-spot spectators, corporate media viewers, the owners of specific corporations, their stockholders, the police and government, other members of the radical community, the participants themselves? What is it intended to accomplish? Is it meant to communicate ideas, to call attention to an injustice, to inspire people, to secure resources, to set a particular tone, to inflict crippling material damages, to provide a deterrent, to demonstrate a model others can apply, to be a learning and bonding experience for those involved? Establishing the goals of the action from the outset will save a lot of headaches later, when your plans shift and potential conflicts arise.

Structure

Affinity Groups: Work tightly with those you know

One of the most secure models for direct action organizing is the affinity group model. An affinity group is a group of friends who trust each other deeply and share the same goals; by working together over a long period of time, they become efficient and effective. For a small action, the members of an affinity group can take on different roles. For a larger action, affinity groups can work with other affinity groups in a "cluster," each group playing a role. This can make decision-making easier than it would be in one big mass, as each group can send a representative to discussions. Clusters of affinity groups can work together over long periods, building trust and effectiveness.

Recruiting: Bring in other individuals and groups carefully

Once you have a plan to propose, figure out how many people you need to accomplish it. Invite only people you trust to keep secrets and that you are sure will want to join in—everyone you invite who doesn't end up participating is a needless security risk. Extend invitations one by one, or affinity group by affinity group, so those who decide against participating will not know anything about the others involved; likewise, ask general questions at first, and don't reveal critical details of the plan such as exact target or date until a person is ready to make a commitment. As people are brought into a plan and go on to bring in others, make sure everyone has the same idea of how cautiously this should be done. As more people become involved in the project, it's also important that everyone understands how much commitment is called for. Sometimes the group that first presents a plan will be more invested in it than

others; if they do months of work preparing, only to have another group they depended on drop out at the last minute, all that work is wasted. Everyone shares the responsibility of being honest from the beginning about what others can expect from them. At the same time, those who initiate a project should be careful to share ownership of it with everyone else involved.

Dynamics: Make sure power is distributed evenly within your group

Make all decisions in a participatory and consensual manner. If your group is large enough to warrant it, use an informal or formal consensus meeting process to make sure all voices are heard: set an agenda for each meeting, and pick a facilitator to keep meetings on track and another person to keep track of whose turn it is to speak. The better structured your process, the more likely it is that everyone will participate equally. Be aware of internal dynamics that may be unbalanced, such as those between people with different privilege, or between local organizers and participants from out of town. The more everyone participates in planning and preparing for the action, the more invested in its success everyone will be. A group with good internal dynamics is smarter than any individual can be; together the group can work out the best way to apply the ideas brought in by individuals. Make sure everyone feels supported and comfortable throughout the project; check in with each other outside of formal structures as well as inside them. Maintaining morale is a critical, though often overlooked, aspect of successful direct action organizing—keep level heads in the face of surprises and uncertainty.

The Basics

Security Culture: Be intentional about how you share information

Security culture is a way to avoid unhealthy paranoia by minimizing risks at all times. If you and your friends always conduct yourselves wisely, you'll have little to fear from infiltration and surveillance. The essence of security culture is that information is shared on a need-to-know basis. In some cases, the whole town will need to know about your action for it to be a success; in others, it will be crucial that the action is never spoken of outside the circle of those directly involved. Everyone privy to the action needs to share a sense of what security has been deemed appropriate, and to respect others' needs regarding safety. Consent is as important in security as it is in sexual intimacy; it is never acceptable to violate another's wishes about security issues. Make your own security needs explicit from the beginning. It can be helpful for people working on a high security project to swear an oath of silence together. Never violate agreements about security, no matter how much

PEACE-FOR-WAR

The concept I'm going to present draws directly from the work of Shimshon Bichler and Jonathan Nitzan. It describes the economic phases of "depth" and "breadth," and correlates them with the first- and second-order cybernetics of control.

It attempts to situate the functions of cultural-communicational labor within these economic phases. It questions those autonomist Marxists who thought it would be possible to transform a broadly expansionary phase of capitalism, like that of the '90s, into a qualitatively different society. It's not a polemic, but seeks to open up a field of strategic debate. It doesn't assert a future, but observes the unfolding of the present into the depths of violence, which has robbed resistance movements of their potential, again. The concept is Peace-for-War.

At stake here is society itself: the really existing forms of social cooperation. The Argentinean activist, Ezequiel Adamovsky, writes about exactly that: "Today, the division of labor is so deep, that each minute, even without realizing it, each of us is relying on the labor of millions of people from all over the world." (1) This text, the words, the images, my voice through the microphone or over the Internet, is literally brought to you by the labors of Asia, the Americas, Africa and Europe combined. The question is, what guides the dynamics of our worldwide cooperation? How is order maintained? And why does this "order" descend periodically into chaos, as it's doing now in the Middle East?

Order will not provide a language to explain its chaos. The essence of contemporary power is to provoke crisis and to ride it out toward profit, without revealing strategies or goals. The effect of such huge unknowns is to make people cling to their identities and their operative routines, for fear that the public disruption will spread into their private lives. Without an interpretation of capital – indeed, of power – there can be no opposition. The first thing that resistance movements are lacking is a common language to describe, predict and oppose the maneuvers of the most powerful groups in the world.

I Bichler and Nitzan's work – and particularly their article, "Dominant Capital and the New Wars" – tries to show exactly why peace is allowed to become war under the contemporary political-economic order. (2) Their starting point is the measurement of value. They recall that both the Marxist concept of abstract labor, and the notion of utility in classical economics, claim to designate an objective foundation of value. But neither of these "foundations" has ever been measurable. What can be observed and measured in capitalist society are prices, profits, losses – in short, money. The fluctuation of prices, profits and losses is the index of shifts in power relations. In this sense, the economy is always political, it has no objective touchstone. What the fluctuations measure is the struggle for differential accumulation.

Capital in the singular is like the night where all Cadillacs are black. If power relations give value its measure, then

what matters is beating the average, standing out from the others. The corporations with the highest rates of profit (for example, those of the Fortune 500) will be able to shape the environment in which they accumulate, either directly, with their own resources, or more importantly, through collaboration with the state. Such corporations "make the market," they impose technologies, laws, standards, prices. They are "dominant capital." But dominant capital itself is not singular. At the heart of Bichler and Nitzan's analysis are two different strategies for differential accumulation, associated with two different political-economic cultures: one called "breadth," and the other, "depth."

Think of profit as the number of employees, times the earnings per employee. How does a corporation beat the average rate? One way is to increase the number of people working. That can be done by building new capacity, so-called "greenfield investment." But too much capacity creates a glut, and a glut destroys a market. So the more common route is to buy away the competition, through mergers and acquisitions. Industrial sabotage, like the politics of the Treuhänder in former East Germany, is a strategy of breadth. It's about destroying potential competitors in order to make yourself relatively bigger. It's associated with speculative fever, as corporations double or triple in market share overnight. But insofar as real capacity does in fact increase, breadth is also associated with proletarianization, or the induction of more people into the global labor force. Like the populations of China, Russia and India in the 1990s.

The other strategy, depth, means increasing the amount of earnings per employee. Here again, there are two basic avenues. One is to cut costs, to do more with less, to be lean and mean, which has become the watchword of capitalism – everybody tries it, constantly. But the other way is to raise prices, even if that causes inflation, and even if rising prices are accompanied by stagnation of the economy as a whole. Depth is typically accompanied by stagflation, which is anathema for the majority of dominant capital. Only the most powerful corporations can take the first moves in a strategy of depth. And the only way they can legitimately raise their prices – that is, the only way they can succeed in forcing people to pay the higher prices – is to seize the occasion offered by a crisis, which is typically the occasion of a war.

Why does a relatively small fraction of dominant capital periodically succeed in launching a strategy of depth? What Bichler and Nitzan have done is to show that the major waves of corporate expansion through mergers and acquisitions have all reached their size limits, or filled out what could be conceived as their "envelopes of possibility." As they write, "Merger booms tend to 'hype up' investors and make market conditions increasingly fragile as the boom progresses. Eventually, negative sentiment sets in, making the market inhospitable for merger till the next reversal in mood. Furthermore, breaking each 'envelope' involves major legal, institutional and political realignments, and that takes time. The consequence is that the whole process is susceptible to major interruptions. It is here that stagflation enters the picture." (3)

A graph on page 289 shows four great waves: the monopoly phase at the turn of the century, the oligopoly phase of vertical integration in the twenties, the conglomerate phase of multidivisional corporations in the 50s and 60s, or finally, the globalization phase of the 90s. The line itself is the 'buy-to-build ratio,' which rises as mergers and acquisitions outstrip construction. Another curve shows that from the 1940s onward, a period of stagflation inevitably accompanies any drop in the buy-to-build ratio. Stagflation is the sign of depth.

Since the postwar period, the two divergent strategies of dominant capital, breadth and depth, have clearly become two distinct temporal phases in the rhythm of accumulation as a whole. Their curves become exactly symmetrical. But who are the actors of these two phases? And what are the relations between them?

Bichler and Nitzan don't have a lot to say about the high-tech companies and financial actors – or what they call the "Technodollar-Mergerdollar Alliance" – that dominated the speculative fevers of the nineties. What interests them is integrated oil and defense: the "Petrodollar-Weapondollar Coalition." Another graph (p. 316) shows how its share of global net corporate profit grew tremendously during the stagflation of the '70s, when the Middle East replaced South-East Asia as the focus of the global arms market and the OPEC embargoes helped Western oil majors extort record prices at the pump. What's at stake in the Middle Eastern wars is neither the rarity of oil resources, nor the scramble to control them, nor even the cost of obtaining them. What's at stake is the capacity of specific corporations to raise prices against a backdrop of crisis and uncertainty.

The implication is that at a low point, and particularly after a long period of decline, the crises themselves could be allowed to develop, maybe even encouraged, as a sure-fire path toward the recovery of differential profits. But this could only be done by actors able to influence the American state. The Petro-Core, according to Bichler and Nitzan, is composed of six Anglo-American companies, now merged to four: BP, Exxon-Mobil, Shell and Chevron-Texaco. A bar graph (p. 311) shows that since the mid-1960s, every time the Petro-Core's rate of return slips below the Fortune 500 average, a conflict in the Middle East will follow. Do you remember them? The Arab-Israeli war in '67; then another in '73; the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the first Israeli invasion of Lebanon in '78; the beginning of the eight-year Iran-Iraq war in '80 and the second invasion of Lebanon in '82; the first Gulf War of '90-'91; the Palestinian Intifada of 2000, the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, and finally the Iraq invasion in 2003. Each time, war is preceded by a drop of the Petro-Core's profit rate with respect to the other Fortune 500 companies. Of course, the oil companies do not start the wars, whose causes are multiple. But from 1973 onward, each war is accompanied by a significant or even spectacular rise in the oil majors' rate of differential accumulation.

So what type of causality are we talking about? There's a

difference between this argumentation and the conspiracy theories that have sprung up concerning the "real events" of September 11. Consider the film "Loose Change," which claims, among many other things, that a Boeing 757 did not hit the Pentagon, and that the 16-foot diameter hole in the wall of the building would more likely have been caused by a cruise missile: a Tomahawk, fired from an A3 jet, both manufactured by the Raytheon corporation. (4) This do-it-yourself documentary has all the vital energy of popular conspiracy theory – and all the mistakes of what Frederic Jameson once described as "the poor person's cognitive mapping in the post-modern age; a degraded figure of the total logic of late capital, a desperate attempt to represent the latter's system, whose failure is marked by its slippage into sheer theme and content." (5)

Dylan Avery, the maker of "Loose Change," is 22 years old; he came of age at the turning point of Peace-for-War. Raytheon is almost a hundred years old, and partakes of a normality that may be worse than conspiracy. It forms part of what Bichler and Nitzan call the Arma-Core, or the "Seven Archangels of Armageddon," which also includes Lockheed-Martin, Boeing, General Dynamics, Northrop-Grumman, the British manufacturer BAE Systems, and the Euro-consortium EADS. These companies, and their state allies, have a century's experience in the politics of depth.

Bichler and Nitzan say nothing about the 16-foot hole in the outer wall of the Pentagon. They focus instead on the threat, not just of stagnation, but of outright deflation, that arose after the collapse of the new economy bubble. They analyze a Financial Times article of April 2003, calling on Alan Greenspan to "go for higher inflation" – which would signify the entry into a regime of depth. (6) As a sign of political will, they quote a famous declaration from the neoconservative Project for New American Century, written in the year 2000, which claims that the process of transforming the US defense budget is "likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor." (7) Finally, they produce a graph showing the decline of US defense spending after WWII, from 15% of GDP during the Korean War, to 10% for Vietnam and 7.5% for Reagan's Star Wars, then finally a mere 3.8% under Clinton. Is there any reason these companies would lobby for war?

You are presented, not with allegations, but with statistical outlines, behind which you can see the changing fortunes of specific groups, juxtaposed to the chronicle of international events. You are given, not the proverbial smoking gun, but important clues as to possible motivations. You are asked to decide whether a fraction of American capital, closely allied with elements of the state and historically accustomed to exerting a preponderant influence over the forms and dynamics of social cooperation, would have any interest in seizing on the events of September 11 as an excuse to re-engineer the entire pattern of accumulation that had been established during the merger boom of the '90s. You are being asked, in effect, whether there are steersmen influencing the global course of Peace-for-War.

Today, in mid-July of 2006, after observing in utmost detail the strategies put into effect by the Bush administration, after examining its political-economic alliances and the biographies of those involved, after witnessing the extreme profiteering of the oil majors amidst continuing Israeli escalations in Lebanon and Gaza and continuing arms sales to Israel from the US, many people may be a little less inclined to doubt the existence of this kind of steersmanship. (8) So the more interesting question becomes this: Are anti-imperialists ultimately on the side of the "Technodollar-Mergerdollar Alliance," despite our critiques of figures like Gates and Soros, or of institutions like the WTO? Would it be possible to "do away with the old economy," that is, the economy of industrialized war, as some autonomist Marxists believe, in favor of a new and better one? Does the decline of the arms industry represent an historical chance, a "could have been" that might still be, with the help of another democratic or social-democratic government?

These questions, I think, must be confronted with others. Why did the post 9-11 political-economic hijacking by the party of war, oil and engineering meet with such ineffective resistance from the other fractions of dominant capital? Was it, as Bichler and Nitzan suggest, that their prospects for further accumulation were simply exhausted, by virtue of their very success in the preceding decades? Was fear of deflation enough to make them pass the baton? Did all of dominant capital simply acquiesce in the repetition of a pattern that had characterized accumulation throughout the twentieth century? Or would it be possible, for instance, where the European Union and its separate nations are concerned, to map out which corporations and key officials came down on which sides of which dividing lines? The answer to that question is relatively simple: no one has done the work, no one knows. But isn't this kind of mapping what we would need, to resist the strategies of the major actors who create the worlds we live in?

In their most comprehensive book, *The Global Political Economy of Israel* (2002), Bichler and Nitzan have traced the transformation of the contemporary Israeli ruling class, within the context of the Middle Eastern "energy conflicts" and of their particular role in the political economy of the world as a whole. (9) This kind of work can show who gains, and in which ways, from the transformation of the "peace dividend" back into "war profits." One of the weaknesses of the international resistance movements has been an inability to chart out the oscillations of War-for-Peace, Peace-for-War. Yet without this capacity, there is no common language. Each generation's experience becomes incomprehensible to the next, as the curves reverse and the pendulum of differential accumulation keeps on violently swinging.

II

Capital, as we've seen above, is inseparable from politics. It's what Guattari called "the integral of power formations." (10) That means it also produces subjectivity – differentially, and in diverging phases, as I've tried to make clear. Resistant culture, the kind that can cross the generations, has to be able

to escape these oscillating phases, to steer outside the political subjectivity of Peace-for-War. I want to close with some open questions about contemporary governance, and about governmentality, that is to say, the rationalities whereby we shape our own behavior. For this, let's return to our departure point, the remarks of Ezequiel Adamovsky. We live in an age of unprecedented cooperation – but also of conflict – between isolated persons, mediated increasingly by computers. The governmental science for this separated and interconnected age is cybernetics.

The word cybernetics is based on the Greek root *kybernetes*, which means "steersman" or "governor." Its modern coinage is due to the scientist Norbert Wiener, in his book *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (1948). This concept has developed historically in two modes, and perhaps in two distinct phases. First-order cybernetics corresponds to the formula of "purpose controlled by feedback," as described in the early texts of Wiener and his colleagues. (11) The phrase refers to the logical structure of efforts undertaken by organisms to transform the environment in which they evolve, by gradually altering or "correcting" their own activity, on the basis of information gathered in the course of the transformative action itself. The stimulus to automate this kind of activity was given by nothing other than war: the need to automate artillery, in order to respond to the exceptionally fast and mobile action of enemy planes. It was a matter, in other words, of targeting and eliminating problems, by setting up circular flows of self-correcting information. This kind of feedback is negative: it does not seek to add energy to the system, but merely to correct the errors on the way to purpose (a pragmatic purpose whose singleness is elevated, by Wiener and his colleagues, to the status of "teleology"). The Revolution in Military Affairs, or even closer to us, the current frenzy over biometrics, bears witness to this way of thinking, what might be called government by self-preservation. More broadly, the entire logistical system of globalized industry and distribution, then of just-in-time production, is based on this kind of first-order cybernetics. It may therefore be worth exploring the hypothesis that as a governmental science, first-order cybernetics corresponds to an economic phase of depth, and to situations of violent conflict, where the priority is to look out for number 1.

Yet the more interesting question, once again, concerns the phases of breadth, and the varieties of so-called second-order cybernetics. Take for starters the "system dynamics" of Jay W. Forrester, developed in volumes of continually expanding scope: *Industrial Dynamics* (1961), *Urban Dynamics* (1969), *World Dynamics* (1973). His innovation was to study the feedback loops that come into play between distinct systems, each of which are already dynamic and feedback-based in their own right. In other words, it was the loops between loops that were to be studied; and this, in view of transforming the mental maps that each actor has of the interrelated systems. Forrester, who did his pioneering theoretical work in the 1950s and early 60s, was perfectly in tune with the phase of conglomerate capital, when corporations moved outside their original industries and faced the redoubtable

challenge of inter-branch management. This was a phase of tremendous expansion, and Forrester's models integrate positive feedback, which can be seen as the cybernetic equivalent of growth. But despite the continuing use of his studies by industry, there is probably nothing in Forrester that can interest us philosophically today – as you might guess from the failure of his project on World Dynamics, and of the famous Limits to Growth report to the Club of Rome, published by his collaborators in 1972.

The problem may be that Forrester's models can predict only the growth, and never succeed in staging an encounter with the limits. The problem, in other words, may be that there is no room for radical otherness in a positive feedback system. Yet such encounters are the necessary consequences of a breadth economy, when it entails the induction of massive numbers of new workers into the capitalist labor market, as it did in the '60s – and then even more extensively in the '90s.

Consider where positive feedback led. In 1994 the economist Brian Arthur, linked to the Santa Fe Institute for complexity studies, published a book entitled *Increasing Returns and Path Dependence in the Economy*, in which he showed how positive feedback into a network can lead to exponential growth and monopoly positions. This turned out to be the key theoretical text of the new economy, which was predicated at once upon the exponential expansion of networks, and on the monopoly position of those who establish the technological standards. So here is another question: whether the expansion of a system through the circular reiteration of its own potentials can be correlated with the heavily financialized kind of breadth economy that was developed during the Internet boom, when dominant capital invented whole new digitized realms for the multiplication of its increasingly semiotic wealth. Could the political-economic agitations of the turn of the century, including the protest movements in which some of participated, have been an inevitable culmination of this semiotic expansion? If this were true, then the speculative krach of the years 2000–2001 would appear as a classic case of uncontrollable oscillation, exactly as Norbert Wiener describes it in his early work on servomechanisms, when he speaks of a hunting pattern that spirals out of control in a steering device whose excessive feedback corrections cause it to overshoot its own marks, worsening the situation with each new attempt at resolution. (12) This would seem to be the destiny of the long breadth phase that came to its culmination at the turn of the century.

With this, I can reach a provisional conclusion. The present disaster is its own condemnation; but we have yet to sufficiently map all the interests that combine to make it endure. Only a more precise treatment of the collusion between specific state and corporate actors and an increased understanding of the two-phase nature of differential accumulation can provide a common language of critique and resistance, able to traverse the generations. And this language will undoubtedly be needed. Beyond the present moment, perhaps a decade into the future, lies the possibility of another phase of breadth. If it comes, it will be intensive this time, expanding

into the micro-dimensions of bio- and nano-technologies, as a new envelope imploding the limits of the global. Such a phase would have tremendous subjectifying power. It seems to me that as cultural activists, we have to consider the relative failure of the attempts to overflow the preceding breadth phase by introducing more-or-less arbitrary information and unpredictable behavior into the system. I'm thinking, among others, of culture-jamming, carnivalesque consumption, corporate over-identification and the subversive insistence on the libertarian content of neoliberal slogans. All of these strategies attempt to outrace what is already a self-accelerating process of perpetual recombination: they are a kind of flight before the storm. But a system that expands by absorption, through fusion and acquisition, with the delirious ambition of integrating all obstacles into an infinite multiplication and diversification of the same basic principles, seems fated not to overflow its own bounds, but at the limit-point, to reverse into its mirror opposite: which is a targeting system that works, government by destruction. How do we transform our models, without ignoring reality? The inability to map the gyrations of the same, and to encounter, at their limit, the irresolvable equation of the other, is what keeps us inside the concept of Peace-for-War.

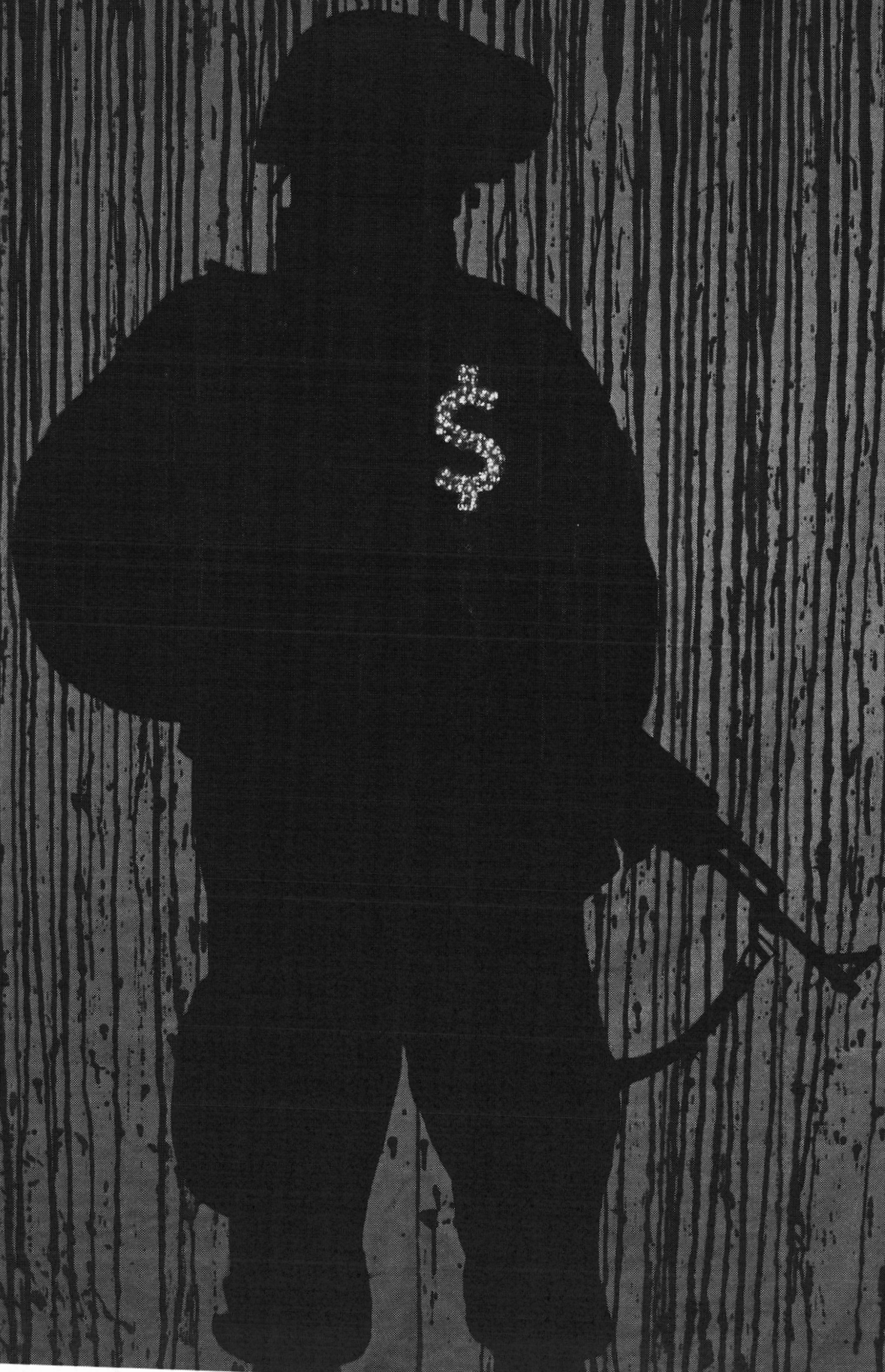
Brian Holmes

Notes

1. Ezequiel Adamovsky, "Autonomous Politics and its Problems: Thinking the Passage from Social to Political" (2006); Interactivist info Exchange.
2. Shimshon Bichler and Jonathan Nitzan, "Dominant Capital and the New Wars," *Journal of World Systems Research*, vol. X no. 2 (Spring 2004), available here. Part I of this text is mainly an abbreviated synthesis of Bichler and Nitzan's major theses, which in my opinion deserve a much wider audience.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
4. Loose Change can be viewed here. Also see the critique, "Sifting through Loose Change," here.
5. Frederic Jameson, "Cognitive Mapping," in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 356.
6. Inflation plus stagnation are the earmarks of what Bichler and Nitzan call a depth regime. Currently, speculations about possible stagflation in the US economy abound; for the most "authoritative" (or rather, normative) source, see *The Economist*, May 5, 2005, "Inflation, the remix," here. The *Financial Times* article urging inflation can be consulted here.
7. The PNAC text is here.
8. Compare the remarks of Chalmers Johnson, the conservative critic of US empire: "In our society, we don't want to admit how deeply the making and selling of weaponry has become our way of life; that we really have no more than four major weapons manufacturers – Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics – but these companies distribute their huge contracts to as many states, as many congressional districts, as possible.... This is state socialism and it's keeping the economy running not in the way it's taught in any economics course in any American university. It's closer to what John Maynard Keynes advocated for getting out of the Great Depression – counter-cyclical governmental expenditures to keep people employed." Interview by Tom Engelhardt, "Chalmers Johnson on our Military Empire," March 2006, here.
9. The book, published by Pluto Press, is available in full here.
10. Félix Guattari, "Capital as the Integral of Power Formations", in: *Chaosophy: Soft Subversions* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996).
11. Arturo Rosenblueth, Norbert Wiener, Julian Bigelow, "Behavior, Purpose and Teleology," in: *Philosophy of Science*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Jan. 1943).
12. "On the other hand, under certain conditions of delay, etc., a feedback that is too brusque will make the rudder overshoot, and will be followed by a feedback in the other direction, which makes the rudder overshoot still more, until the steering mechanism goes into a wild oscillation or hunting, and breaks down completely." Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965 [1948]), p. 7. [All websites consulted July 25, 2006.]

45 A SPACE OUTSIDE READER

G20 SOLDIER: GLENN TODD



WAR: THE STAPLE DIET OF CULTURAL FEAR

The nature of War in the globalised world is of looting and profiteering at the expense of Third World nations. If one strips away the double speak and contradictory logic which surrounds the push to bring words like "freedom" and "democracy" to those who have effectively been frozen out of the international market place, we can see a distinct shift from the previous century's understanding of colonial authority into something which is more akin to piracy or looting.

Corporate controlled media has been extremely successful in obscuring the true nature of the so-called 'War on Terror' and the ideological implications constructed for those who live outside the West, and do not enjoy the patronage of the United States.

An entire generation has now been scarred with false ideological divisions that are crafted from the refuse of the Cold War and paraded before the global political system as though hatred for U.S policy in the Middle East were somehow indicative of a wide gulf of political and civic values between the people of the first and third world sectors. However, many of the crimes traditionally practised by oppressive regimes are ignored, or cosseted by governments in the West, as long as it serves their economic or political interests. A clear and recent example of this has been the Australian Government's decision to provide military training and assistance to the South East Asian nation of Burma, despite its flagrant human rights abuses and appalling record of political and civil freedoms.

Clearly what is under scrutiny is not a country's democratic record, system or ethos, but rather their willingness to play along with the coming global order, and their amenability to America's plans for corporate control of the world's vital resources.

Well into its third year, the Iraq War is a sterling example of how the politics of control rely essentially upon contradictory logic. This is a result of the framework being constructed by the architects of the conflict, and foisted upon a country with little cohesion or unity in terms of its cultural make-up or resistance to occupying forces. One of the reasons the anti war movement has faltered in recent years seems to be that, like the people of Iraq, there is no single unifying discourse between those who resist the occupation itself. Some argue for the immediate withdrawal of troops, on the grounds that it is simply fuelling the insurgency and the West should be concentrating on bringing Islamic Extremists to justice in other theatres of conflict. Others argue for resistance to a militaristic adventure and that democracy in the Middle East cannot be achieved. Still others see the War as being an exercise in U.S hegemony, designed to instil fear and obedience amongst all nations of the globe.

If we are to have any hope of ending not only this immediate conflict, but also those, which support it within their ideological constructs, then we must see the Iraq War as being part of the grand project for the U.S corporate structure to claim

ownership and rights of production over the resources of the entire globe. This phenomenon is best typified by the term 'Global Village', which is bandied about in the press as a new, warm and fuzzy term designed to convey feelings of universal fellowship and co-operation. The War on Terror is simply a blanket term for attempts to carry out the military operations necessary to bring about this grand act of piracy.

War is big business. For some. For arms manufacturers, chemical corporations, and the vast interests which represent reconstruction in the countries facing military assault. Entire countries become reliant upon such corporations for their infrastructures, and are therefore beholden to company shareholders and boards of directors for the directions and actions taken by their governments, whether democratically elected or not. In the same way that the British Gentry seized vast amounts of land from the rural and working classes at the commencement of the Industrial revolution, so too does America attempt to seize the land and resources from Third World countries, deemed to be little more than feudal kingdoms in the coming empire of Capital and the vast Corporate Autocracy.

Piers



time has passed since the action. When a group comes together to work on a project, make sure everyone present is vouched for by others in the group as reliable and trustworthy, and is willing to perjure themselves rather than send their comrades to jail. From the beginning of a project, you should operate according to the highest possible level of security it might require; you can always lower the level of caution later, but if you start out being careless you close off a lot of options you might later miss. Be aware of all the ways your actions can be monitored or tracked: the records of surveillance cameras, the purchases and phone calls you make (both the numbers you dial and the things you say), the fingerprints you leave (on the batteries in a flashlight as well as on the outside of it, for example), the places you go and the people with whom you are seen. Be especially careful about the location of meetings, the items you throw in your trash, and the files you have on your computer. Devise codes and prepare alibis as need be.

Legal Support: Prepare an infrastructure to provide support during and after the action

Everyone involved in the action should be aware of and prepared for the risks they are taking and the potential criminal charges associated with them. It's important not to take things further than you feel ready to go: if you get hurt or arrested or otherwise in trouble while engaging in a level of risk for which you are not emotionally prepared, the effects can be debilitating. Far better that you get started slowly, building a sustainable involvement with direct action projects that can

HOW DO YOU LIKE WHAT YOU HAVE?

'How do you like what you have? This is a question that anyone can ask anyone. Go ahead – ask it.' Gertrude Stein

What do we have? What do we have as people, as inhabitants of a planet built from dust and darkness? Walking through an underpass tunnel, which neatly divides, into graffiti covered council version and a stifled and painted corporate connex tunnel has got me thinking. What does this mean?

There are several things we commonly associate with humanity and its basic properties. We find them in maxims and epigrams; things like 'life', 'air', 'love', 'wine', 'revenge', 'sex', or 'taxes'.

But what do we really have when the Cards COME DOWN? Leaving aside the obvious, life is becoming an increasingly packaged series of disconnected fragments, shattered on the floor like a flickering lightbulb, beautiful in destruction.

'Air' is free, but it is filled with the pollution of nameless men, penetrated and despoiled by smoke stacks and high rises. Can we 'have' something if that something is twisted and spoken for by others who actually control the planet, but seem to have little interest in its welfare? Why won't Australia and America sign the Kyoto protocol?

'Sex' is sold to us to the point that, rather being an act between two people; it becomes like a privileged: yet expected: deed. Passionate physical love in its most raw animal form can exist only when the theoretical industry of sex has spread like the newest virus. The sex virus, made up of billboards selling self-image, the harnessing of residual sex drive - usually male - by advertisers, the destructive tide of raunch-culture, etc, has to be examined as a part of the sexual act, and the more it grows and affects us, the less we can say that sexuality is an example of humanity.

So many of these maxim words which we dress up in, festooning ourselves with chains, become a little hollow when we look at them more closely. Never mind their insidious naming evils; putting words to rare and beautiful experiences and trapping them in four or five letters. What we might have is slowly being pulled away from us. By the forces of corporatism, the simplicity of community control is now a radical act. Life is patented and owned by the businesses who have become Gods in their own right. Corporatism is the new religion, and it is far more successful than the last, because all it requires of its parishioners is to spend, and be comfortable. Under GOD we got piety and a piece of heaven, which served its purpose in keeping you in your worldly place. But under business, we get a paper slice of the global pie and a sofa. If we owned the world it would only be as shareholders, and a shareholder gain is based on profit margins.

This is interesting, because this model could be seen, in fact, as quite useful – if we could globally manage the world through these communities; if the United Nations actually was the United PEOPLES of the World (let's not pretend a nation is actually just constituted of its people), then perhaps this might go somewhere. However, the point that I am

labouring under is that WE DO NOT MAKE THE RULES BECAUSE WE DO NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO MAKE THEM WITH. Possibly. Even love is dominated by mortality – what we have must end. Every relationship must end; every love must dwindle, caged in an endless series of messy middle class divorces and stepchildren or in emo high school tears and romantic pathos – the longstanding basis of cathartic tragedy in narrative. Love is always doomed to die. Just as some wise man wrote on the wall at the Tote, "Reproduction plants the seed of death". What do we have, and how should we like it?

The world is far too big to be moved by the actions of most individuals. Even Yasser Arafat and Bill Clinton and Ariel Sharon could not end the war in the Middle East through a direct action. However, in the western world we like to think that it may be moved by the power of symbols; a handshake between enemies even. This idea drives many disciplines, such as Historical Revision, or Literary Criticism, because they involve the interpretation of what certain events stood or stand for. Revolutions are best understood in these terms because not every Peasant or Sans-Culottes or Worker in any revolution has ever understood all the accompanying theory of Mao or Rousseau or Marx (Do you know how long *Das Kapital* is?!). But they are able to see the revolution as standing for their discontent.

Thus when discussing what we have as humans, it is not such an unreasonable claim to initially suggest that we have symbols. Symbols which guide us and lead us, perverted as they may become. The word 'love' is just a linguistic and psychological symbol for what feelings we might collect under it – and here we approach a problem. I have already mentioned that I think even love is not so independent, but I could also ask: does love rule us? This is a longer problem, with many turns to follow – does this mean to love one person, or a family, or an entire race, or in fact to be completely benevolent to all mankind? Surely the ignored and ongoing plight of the asylum seekers is the first example to show that in some sense our ideas of love are not those that bind us as the general common people, and not as a special community which distances itself from the acts of the whole.

In any case I want to examine the symbol which I believe truly does rule us, and which constitutes a major part of what we have, playing as it does a multitude of contradictory roles – giving things possibility but then taking that away, standing for everything and yet standing for nothing. It is a major force in our world, and it is the most absolute of modern symbols. Money. Money is very human.

"The Human Being inventing signs is, at the same time, the being who becomes ever more keenly conscious of himself."

Friedrich Nietzsche

Money is man made. It does not come from the world, but at some point it has begun to control the world, until we have almost completely given over our power as individual men and women to its sway. And money can be regarded

as a symbol or sign because it functions as a representation of what it may purchase. And thus it is the most powerful symbol, because it has the possibility to purchase everything and anything. Love, or a version of it, can be bought in a back alley, and even if Australia and America refuse the Kyoto protocol, they still talk of buying air by trading carbon emissions from business to business. From the simplest food-stuffs to the largest abstract metaphors, everything is within the reach of money. It is the most powerful symbol of them all because its construction allows it to stand for everything and anything. And also, for nothing.

But has money made us more keenly conscious of ourselves? I doubt it. Marx's idea (or rather, nightmare) of commodity fetishism is expressed as that consumerist and inhospitable state where human relations are reduced to being conducted solely through what each individual or group produces. Employers to miners, miners to jewelers, jewelers to customers, etc - never simply one person to another, but rather the operation of a human vessel, disguised behind the veneer of production and transaction. While Marx's version of this problem is somewhat anachronistic, it is not so hard to translate it to our modern consumerist religion, where belief in God has been transferred to belief in consumption, and consumption's backer - the dollar. And from our current state it is even easier to construct a vision of a tiny humanity, like ants, simply carrying Money from one place to another: each movement just another cash transfer, operating on every scale of existence; a drama played and dirtied through many hands as it were. Money is the worst virus because for the life of me I can only invent it one purpose - proliferation. Even if it flows through every scale of human existence, it is ridiculous to suggest we end with a picture of the grand lord MONEY sitting astride the world, salivating at its control.

I state again that money is a man made thing, and it has long been accepted that mankind will destroy itself. However, what I am discussing is the theoretical idea behind money, not its operation through bodies like the World Trade Organisation (one of the most poisonous pieces of invention ever to grace the globe) or the World Bank (ditto). These are the bodies around which we have come together to protest and tear down. What we are attempting to achieve is a 'de-divinization' of their dominant language of neo-liberal signs and symbols, to drag them back down to street level and rub them up against the gutter a bit. Topple them out of their towers and make their language confront ours.

I, however, am not an economics student, I have no claim to be a philosopher, and I don't make very much money. I am an artist, and I understand the power of symbols. I exist in society, and therefore to be happy I must deal with it as I find it. I am a human, and therefore I wish to be an enlightened human. I do not want to be dead in paradise, to have no power over my world around me, though I know that I share the opinions of many, and that, out there, there are many who share mine. If the two things I have are my humanity and everything (man-made money), then it seems to reinforce the idea that the human being has created a bad sign. Money

controls even the most immediately effective forms of change (but not the most legitimate ones), and therefore it is against the manifestation of those with immense financial power which we must expose and humiliate. I'm not sure how to end this article except to state that if I look at what I have on this type of scale then I do not like it very much at all. How do you like it? Go on - ask yourself these questions! Are you a shareholder in this globe we call home or not?!

Mickey Skelton

POSTERING GLUE

Boiling water off the heat
2 cups plain flour or packet corn flour
1/2 cup sugar (optional)

In a bucket mix a packet of corn flour or about 2 cups of plain white flour with about 2 cups of cold water. Some people say add sugar to make it more sticky, others to make it taste nice, and pasting up posters is quite messy.

Mix until a smooth consistency liquid paste, ie lump free and pretty runny. Gradually add the hot water and stir. The hot water cooks the flour transforming the paste into an opaque white glue.



REALITY CHECK: ARE WE LIVING IN AN IMMATERIAL WORLD?

Immaterial Labour is seen by (post) Marxists and capitalists alike as the motor of the new economy. Steve Wright recovers Marx's theory of value from critics such as Antonio Negri to ask whether it is as 'immeasurably' productive as is claimed?

A priest once came across a Zen master and, seeking to embarrass him, challenged him as follows: 'Using neither sound nor silence, can you show me what is reality?' The Zen master punched him in the face.(1)

Continued assertions that, today, we live in a knowledge economy or society raise many questions for reflection. In the next few pages, I want to discuss some aspects of these assertions, especially as they relate to the notion of immaterial labour. This term has developed within the camp of thought that is commonly labelled 'postworkerist', of which the best known exponent is undoubtedly Antonio Negri. While its roots lie in that branch of postwar Italian Marxism known as operaismo (workerism), this milieu has rethought and reworked many of the precepts developed during the Italian New Left's heyday of 1968-78. If anything, it was the very defeat of the social subjects with which operaismo had identified – first and foremost, the so-called 'mass worker' engaged in the production of consumer durables through repetitive, 'semi-skilled labour' – that led Negri and others to insist that we are embarked upon a new age beyond modernity.(2)

According to this view of the world, a quite different kind of labour is currently either hegemonic amongst those with nothing to sell but their ability to work – or, at the very least, is well on the way towards acquiring such hegemony. Secondly, capital's growing dependence upon this different – immaterial – labour has serious implications for the process of self-expanding abstract labour (value) that defines capital as a social relation. While Marx had held that the 'socially-necessary labour-time' associated with their production provided the means by which capital could measure the value of commodities (and so the mass of surplus value that it hoped to realise with their sale), Negri, on the other hand, is of the opinion that in a time of increasingly complex and skilled labour, and of a working day that more and more blurs the boundaries with (and ultimately colonises) the rest of our waking hours, value can no longer be calculated. As he put it a decade ago, in such circumstances the exploitation of labour still continues, but 'outside any economic measure: its economic reality is fixed exclusively in political terms.'(3)

This is pretty esoteric stuff, particularly the arguments over the measurability (or otherwise) of value. Should we care one way or the other? What I hope to show below is that for all their apparent obscurity, these debates matter. That is because they raise questions as to how we understand our immediate context, including how we interpret the possibilities latent within contemporary class composition. Is one sector of class composition likely to set the pace and tone in struggles against capital, or should we look instead towards the emergence of 'strange loops ... odd circuits and strange

connections between and among various class sectors' (as Midnight Notes once suggested) as a necessary condition for moving beyond 'the present state of things'?

Unpacking immaterial labour

Maurizio Lazzarato's discussion of 'Immaterial Labour' was perhaps the first extended treatment of the topic to appear in English. Part of an important anthology of Italian texts published in the mid '90s, Lazzarato's work defined the term immaterial labour as 'labour that produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity.'(4) If the 'classic' forms of this labour were represented in fields like 'audio-visual production, advertising, fashion, the production of software, photography, cultural activities, and so forth', those who perform such work commonly found themselves in highly casualised, precarious and exploited circumstances, as part of what, more recently and in certain Western European radical circles, has come to be called the 'precariat'.(5)

The Taylorist approach to production that confronted the mass worker had decreed that 'you are not paid to think'. With immaterial labour, Lazzarato argued, management's project was different. In fact, it was even more totalitarian than the earlier rigid division between mental and manual labour (ideas and execution), because capitalism seeks to involve even the worker's personality within the production of value.(6)

At the same time this managerial approach carried real risks for capital, Lazzarato believed, since capital's very existence was placed in the hands of a labour force called upon to exercise its creativity through collective endeavours. And unlike a century ago, when a layer of skilled workers likewise stood at the centre of key industries, yet largely cut off from the unorganised 'masses', today 'immaterial labour' could not be understood as the distinctive attribute of one stratum within the workforce. Instead, skilled labour is present (even if only in latent form) amongst broad sectors of the labour market, starting with the young.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* – a book that has come to stand (rightly or wrongly) as the centrepiece of postworkerist thought – built upon and modified Lazzarato's work. Accepting the premise that immaterial labour was now central to capital's survival (and by extension, to projects that aimed at its extinction), Hardt and Negri identified three segments of immaterial labour:

- a) the reshaped instances of industrial production which had embraced communication as their lifeblood;
- b) the 'symbolic analysis and problem solving' undertaken by knowledge workers;
- c) the affective labour found above all within the service sector.(7)

These experiences, it was conceded, could be quite disparate: knowledge workers, for example, were divided between high-end practitioners with considerable control over their working conditions, while others engaged in 'low-value and low-skill jobs of routine symbol manipulation'.(8) Nonetheless a

common thread did exist between the three elements. As instances of service work, none of them produced a 'material or durable good'. Moreover, since the output was physically intangible as a discrete object, so the labour that produced it could be designated as 'immaterial'.⁽⁹⁾

How can we make sense of such arguments? Doug Henwood, who praised Empire for the verve and optimism of its vision, was nonetheless moved to add:

Hardt and Negri are often uncritical and credulous in the face of orthodox propaganda about globalisation and immateriality ... They assert that immaterial labour – service work, basically – now prevails over the old-fashioned material kind, but they don't cite any statistics: you'd never expect that far more Americans are truck drivers than are computer professionals. Nor would you have much of an inkling that three billion of us, half the earth's population, live in the rural Third World, where the major occupation remains tilling the soil.⁽¹⁰⁾

Nick Dyer-Witheford has likewise registered a number of concerns with Hardt and Negri's account of class composition.⁽¹¹⁾ To his mind, Empire glosses over the tensions between the three class fragments it identifies, while ultimately reading immaterial labour only through the lenses of its high-end manifestations. And was all of this really as new as Hardt and Negri intimated? It's not as if 'affective labour', for instance, was anything but fundamental to social reproduction in the past, even if it did go unnoticed – because of its largely gendered composition perhaps – in many social analyses.

Another issue concerns Empire's insistence that 'the co-operative aspect of immaterial labour is not imposed or organised from the outside'.⁽¹²⁾ Again, perhaps this is true for some work at the high-end. But does the obligation to ask 'Do you want fries with that?' really represent a break with Fordist work regimes? Or might many of the McJobs that are prevalent in the lower depths of so-called immaterial production be better characterised as 'the Taylorised, deskilled descendants of earlier forms of office' and other service work?⁽¹³⁾

More recently, Hardt and Negri have attempted to address some of their critics in Multitude, the 2004 sequel to Empire. The first thing to note here is that while immaterial labour remains a central pivot within the book's arguments, it is presented in a rather more cautious and qualified form than before. Indeed, Hardt and Negri are at pains to state that:

- a) 'When we claim that immaterial labour is tending towards the hegemonic position we are not saying that most of the workers in the world today are producing primarily immaterial goods';
- b) 'The labour involved in all immaterial production, we should emphasise, remains material – it involves our bodies and brains as all labour does. What is immaterial is its product.'⁽¹⁴⁾

Therefore, much like the ascendance of the multitude itself, here the hegemony of immaterial labour as the reference point, or even vanguard, for 'most of the workers in the

world today' is flagged as a tendency, albeit one that is inexorable. Towards the end of Multitude's discussion of immaterial labour, Hardt and Negri insist upon what they call a 'reality check' – 'what evidence do we have to substantiate our claim of a hegemony of immaterial labour?'⁽¹⁵⁾ It's the moment we've all been waiting for, and unfortunately the half a page of discussion they proffer is something of a damp squib: an allusion to US Bureau of Statistics figures which indicate that service work is on the rise; the relocation of industrial production 'to subordinate parts of the world', said to signal the privileging of immaterial production at the heart of the Empire; the rising importance of 'immaterial forms of property'; and, finally, the spread of network forms of organisation particular to immaterial labour.⁽¹⁶⁾ Call me old-fashioned, but something more than this is needed in a book of 400 plus pages dedicated to understanding their claims regarding latest manifestation of the proletariat as a revolutionary subject...

Their reference to the growth in service sector activity is interesting for a number of reasons. Huws argues that the unrelenting rise in service work within the West might be cast in a different light if the domestic employment so common 100 years ago was factored into the equation.⁽¹⁷⁾ Writing a decade earlier, Sergio Bologna suggested that certain forms of work only came to be designated as 'services' within national statistics after they had been outsourced; previously, when they had been performed 'in house', they had counted as 'manufacturing'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Neither author is seeking to deny that important shifts have occurred within the global economy, starting with countries like Britain, Australia, Canada and the United States. Yet they urge caution in how we interpret the changes, and care in the categories used to explain them. Bologna – a one-time collaborator with Negri in a variety of political projects back in the '60s and '70s – is particularly caustic about the notion of immaterial labour, labelling it a 'myth' that more than anything else obscures the lengthening of the working day.⁽¹⁹⁾

Goodbye to value as measure?

As stated earlier, one of the distinguishing features of post-workerism is the rejection of Marx's so-called 'law of value'. George Caffentzis reminds us that Marx himself rarely spoke of such a law, but there is also no doubt of his opinion that, under the rule of capital, the amount of labour time socially necessary to produce commodities ultimately determined their value.⁽²⁰⁾ In breaking with Marx in this regard, postworkerists draw some of their inspiration instead from a passage in the Grundrisse known as the 'Fragment on Machines'. This envisages a situation, in line with capital's perennial attempt to free itself from dependence upon labour, where knowledge has become the lifeblood of fixed capital, and the direct input of labour to production is merely incidental. In these circumstances, Marx argues, capital effectively cuts the ground from under its own feet, for 'As soon as labour in the direct form has ceased to be the great well-spring of wealth, labour time ceases and must cease to be its measure, and hence exchange value [must cease to be the measure] of use value'.⁽²¹⁾

Negri, among others, has insisted for many years, and in a variety of ways, that capital has now reached this stage. Therefore, nothing but sheer domination keeps its rule in place: 'the logic of capital is no longer functional to development, but is simply command for its own reproduction'.⁽²²⁾ In fact a range of social commentators have evoked the 'Fragment on Machines' in recent times – apart from anything else, it has held a certain popularity amongst those (like reactionary futurologist Jeremy Rifkin) who tell us that we live in an increasingly work-free society. It's a pity, then, that few of these writers follow the logic of Marx's argument in the Grundrisse to its conclusions. For while he indicates that capital does indeed seek 'to reduce labour time to a minimum', Marx also reminds us that capital is itself nothing other than accumulated labour time (abstract labour as value).⁽²³⁾ In other words, capital is obliged by its very nature, and for as long as we are stuck with it, to pose 'labour time ... as sole measure and source of wealth.'

In its efforts to escape from labour, capital attempts a number of things that, each in their own way, fuel arguments that make labour time appear as irrelevant as the measure of capital's development. Looked at more carefully, however, each can be seen in a somewhat different light. To begin with, capital tries as much as possible to externalise its labour costs: to take a banal example (although not so banal if you are a former bank employee), by encouraging online and teller machine banking and discouraging over-the-counter customer service. As for our own work regimes, many of us find ourselves bringing more and more work home (or on the train, or in the car). More and more of us also seem to be on stand-by, accessible through the net or by phone. Added together, such strategies (which, to add to the messiness of it all, may well intersect with our own individual aspirations for greater flexibility) go a long way to help explain that blurring of the line between the 'work' and 'non work' components of our day that Negri decries. On the other hand, they also cast that boundary in light other than that of the collapse of labour time as the measure of value, one in which – precisely because the quantity of labour time is crucial to capital's existence – as much labour as possible comes to be performed in its unpaid form.

Secondly, in seeking to decrease labour costs within individual organisations, capital also reshapes the process through which profits are distributed on a sectoral and global scale. In a number of essays over the past 15 years, George Caffentzis has outlined the idea, first elaborated at some length in the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, that average rates of profit suck surplus value from labour-intensive sectors towards those with much greater investment in fixed capital:

In order for there to be an average rate of profit throughout the capitalist system, branches of industry that employ very little labour but a lot of machinery must be able to have the right to call on the pool of value that high-labour, low-tech branches create. If there were no such branches or no such right, then the average rate of profit would be so low in the high-tech, low-labour industries that all investment would

stop and the system would terminate. Consequently, 'new enclosures' in the countryside must accompany the rise of 'automatic processes' in industry, the computer requires the sweat shop, and the cyborg's existence is premised on the slave.⁽²⁴⁾

In this instance, if there appears to be no immediate correlation between the value of an individual commodity and the profit that it returns in the market, the answer may well be that there is none: the puzzle can only be solved by examining the sector as a whole, in a sweep that reaches far beyond the horizons of immaterial labour. Here too, it's a matter of which parameters we choose to frame our enquiry.

Thirdly, and following on from above, the division of labour in many organisations, industries and firms has reached the point where it is difficult – and probably pointless – to determine the contribution of an individual employee to the mass of commodities that they help to produce.⁽²⁵⁾ Again, this can foster the sense that the labour time involved in producing such commodities (whether tangible or not) is irrelevant to the value they contain. Marx, for his part, argued that the central question in making sense of all this was one of perspective:

If we consider the aggregate worker, i.e. if we take all the members comprising the workshop together, then we see that their combined activity results materially in an aggregate product, which is at the same time a quantity of goods. And here it is quite immaterial whether the job of a particular worker, who is merely a limb of this aggregate worker, is at a greater or smaller distance from the actual manual labour.⁽²⁶⁾

In this regard, Ursula Huws' critique of notions of 'the weightless economy' deserves careful attention. Like Doug Henwood in his fierce deconstruction of the 'new economy',⁽²⁷⁾ Huws draws our attention back not only to the massive infrastructure that underpins 'the knowledge economy', but also to 'the fact that real people with real bodies have contributed real time to the development of these "weightless" commodities.'⁽²⁸⁾ As for determining the contribution of human labour within the production of immaterial products, Huws argues, that while this might 'be difficult to model, that 'does not render the task impossible'. Or, in David Harvie's words, 'every day the personifications of capital – whether private or state – make judgements regarding value and its measure' in their efforts 'to reinforce[e] the connection between value and work'; He adds:

Hardt and Negri may believe in the 'impossibility of power's calculating and ordering production at a global level', but 'power' hasn't stopped trying and the 'impossibility' of its project derives directly from our own struggles against the reduction of life to measure.⁽²⁹⁾

Other leads?

Not long ago, Dr Woo pointed me to a presentation by Brian Holmes entitled 'Continental Drift Or, The Other Side of Neoliberal Globalisation'.⁽³⁰⁾ In large part, his talk is a reflection upon the arguments in Hardt and Negri's *Empire*,

taking advantage of the hindsight provided by five years of events since the book's publication. For Holmes, many of the arguments advanced in *Empire* were important for challenging commonplace assumptions about how to make sense of the 'big picture' of global power relations, forcing a reconsideration of terms such as globalisation and imperialism. But if the book helped in clearing away certain misconceptions, it has not been nearly so successful in supplanting them with more adequate ways of seeing.

'Continental Drift' addresses a host of issues, but Holmes makes three points which have great relevance for our current discussion. First, a privileged focus upon 'immaterial labour' is increasingly unsatisfactory for efforts to understand what is happening within contemporary class composition. Second, global events since the publication of *Empire* cast doubt upon the usefulness of seeing capital's domination as a smooth space that lacks centre(s). And third, more attention has to be paid to the reasons why the world of finance has become such a crucial aspect of capital's rule in our time. Regarding the first point, Holmes offers some similar criticisms to those made by Dyer-Witheford. If the concept of immaterial labour is important for analysing certain kinds of work 'in the so-called tertiary or service sectors of the developed economies', talk of its hegemony can obscure not only 'the global division of labour' and thus 'the precise conditions under which people work and reproduce themselves', but also how 'they conceive their subordination and their possible agency, or their desires for change.' As for the second point, Holmes argues that global capitalism is better understood through the analysis of 'regional blocs' such as the European Union or the increasing engagement between China, Japan, and Southeast Asia. Finally, he believes that a far better understanding is needed of the role of money – and of finance above all – in capital's efforts to maintain its control at both the international and individual level (on this score, see also Loren Goldner's writings on fictitious capital).⁽³¹⁾

The richest explorations of regional blocs that I have encountered are those developed by 'world systems' analysts such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly Silver. Interestingly enough, their efforts to explain the emergence of a new cycle of global accumulation with its epicentre in Asia is intimately bound up with their attempt to understand why the expansion of money as capital has come so much to the fore over the past thirty years or so. For them, the predominance of financial expansion is symptomatic of a necessary phase in the cycle of accumulation when, as doubts mount concerning the profitability to be found within production, industries are relocated, unemployed capital and labour pile up, and 'a sharp acceleration of economic polarisation [occurs] both globally and within states'.⁽³²⁾ In recent times, Arrighi (who also penned one of the more considered reviews of *Empire*) has devoted much of his efforts to understanding the waning fortunes of the US state and capital within this process,⁽³³⁾ while Silver has concentrated upon the prospects facing contemporary labour in an age of capital flight.⁽³⁴⁾ The work of these authors (much of which is on the net) is well worth a look: in part for the challenges

they offer to a number of radical orthodoxies, but also for the depth of analysis that they bring to their account of the conflicts between and within the forces of labour and capital today.

There is still a great deal to unravel in the issues touched upon here. All the same, there are some useful leads as to where to go next. For example, the current centrality of money as capital, with all the peculiarities that it entails, may offer another reason why it might appear that socially necessary labour time no longer has any bearing upon capital's existence as value in search of greater value. Speculative ventures – of which the past decade has been rife – seem to make money out of thin air. But in actuality, they do nothing to increase the total pool of value generated by capital. At best, they redistribute what already exists. More uncertainly, they seek to sidestep the sphere of production and instead make money 'from betting on the future exploitation of labour'.⁽³⁵⁾ In the meantime, debt continues to balloon, from the micro scale of individual and family credit cards, to the macro level of public sector budgets and current account deficits. Whatever the ingenious ways through which the burden of such debt is redistributed, the terms of the wager cannot be forestalled forever. When it is finally called in, things will become very interesting indeed. If nothing else, we may then find out at last whether, as Madonna sang:

The boy with the cold hard cash Is always Mister Right, 'cause we are Living in a material world.

Footnotes

- 1 Thanks to Hobo for telling me this story. Thanks too to Angela Mitropoulos and Nate Holdren for their helpful suggestions with this piece. All mistakes my own, etc.
- 2 For the best introduction to postworkerism see the Generation Online website <http://www.generation-online.org>
- 3 Negri, A. (1994) 'Oltre la legge di valore', *DeriveApprodi* 5-6, Winter
- 4 Lazzarato, M. (1996) 'Immaterial Labour', in P. Virno & M. Hardt (eds.) *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.133
- 5 Ibid, p.137
- 6 Ibid, p.136
- 7 Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000) *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p.30
- 8 Ibid, p.292
- 9 Ibid, p.290
- 10 Henwood, D. (2003) *After the New Economy*. New York: New Press, pp.184-5
- 11 Dyer-Witheford, N. (2005) 'Cyber-Negri: General Intellect and Immaterial Labour', in Murphy, T. & Mustapha, A. (eds.) *Resistance in Practice: The Philosophy of Antonio Negri*. London: Pluto Press, pp.151-55
- 12 Hardt & Negri (2000), op. cit., p.294
- 13 Huws, U. (2003) *The Making of a Cybertariat*. New York: Monthly Review Press, p.138
- 14 Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2004) *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin, p.109
- 15 Ibid, p.114

16 Ibid, p.115

17 Huws, op. cit., p.130

18 Bologna, S. (1992) 'Problematiche del lavoro autonomo in Italia (I)', *Altreragioni* 1, June, pp.20-1

19 Ibid, pp.22-4

20 Caffentzis, G. (2005) 'Immeasurable Value?: An Essay on Marx's Legacy', *The Commoner* 10, Spring/Summer

21 Marx, K. (1973) *Grundrisse*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, p.705

22 Negri, (1994), op. cit., 28

23 Marx, op. cit., 706

24 Caffentzis, G. (1997) 'Why Machines Cannot Create Value or, Marx's Theory of Machines', in J. Davis, T. Hirschl & M. Stack (eds.) *Cutting Edge: Technology, Information, Capitalism and Social Revolution*. London: Verso

25 Harvie, D. (2005) 'All Labour is Productive and Unproductive', *The Commoner* 10, Spring/Summer

26 Marx, K. (1976) 'Results of the Immediate Process of Production', now in *Capital* Vol. I. Harmondsworth: Penguin, quoted in H. Cleaver, H. Cleaver (2001) *Reading Capital Politically*. Second Edition. Antithesis

27 Henwood, op. cit.

28 Huws, op. cit., pp.142-3

29 Harvie, op. cit., pp.151-154

30 Holmes, B. (2005) 'Continental Drift Or, The Other Side of Neoliberal Globalization', <http://info.interactivist.net/article.pl?sid=05/09/27/131214&mode=nocomment&tid=90>

31 Goldner, L. (2005) 'China In the Contemporary World Dynamic of Accumulation and Class Struggle', <http://home.earthlink.net/~lrgoldner/china.html>, and L. Goldner (2005) 'Fictitious Capital and the Transition out of Capitalism', <http://home.earthlink.net/%7Elrgoldner/program.htm>

32 Wallerstein, I. (2003) *The Decline of American Power*. New York: The New Press, p.275

33 Arrighi, G. (2005a) 'Hegemony Unravelling - 1', *New Left Review* 32, March-April, and, Arrighi, G. (2005b) 'Hegemony Unravelling - 2', *New Left Review* 33, May-June

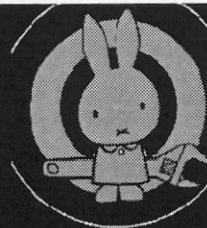
34 Silver, B. (2002) *Forces of Labour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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continue over a lifetime, rather than rush into an action, have a bad experience, and swear off all such a ctivity. If your action may result in arrests, prepare a legal support structure for those who participate. This could include a legal aid number for arrestees to call, legal observers to monitor and document the actions of police, money for bail, lawyers to provide immediate support to arrestees and to represent them in court, and a circle of people prepared to offer emotional, financial, and logistical support throughout court cases. The legal aid number should be open to receive incoming calls at all times throughout the action; bear in mind that often you cannot call a cell phone from jail. It should not incriminate the arrestees or the people who receive the calls—if part of your alibi is that you don't know each other, don't all call the same number from jail. If you fear you will forget the number, write it on your body in permanent marker. The person operating the legal aid number should know the full names of those who may be arrested, so as to check on their status.

If you are risking arrest, decide whether you want to have your identification on you to expedite processing, or you want to be without it, so they cannot identify you immediately. A group of arrestees who refuse to give their information can tie up the legal process and sometimes gain bargaining power. If you need any forms of medication, consider hiding them on your person, or carry a note from a doctor explaining what you need. Find a sympathetic and trustworthy lawyer, or perhaps a few of them for large actions; a lawyer cannot represent more than one defendant on the same charges. If you don't give away anything sensitive, you can ask sympathetic lawyers about the charges associated with hypothetical acts, or specify the dates and times you may require their services—but don't let them know anything that could implicate them: in order to do their job, they need to be able to prove that they are not connected to anything illegal. Any community whose members may suffer arrest would do well to establish a bail fund in advance; this can save a lot of running around in the middle of emergencies. Throw benefit shows, set aside infoshop profits, solicit donations from wealthy sympathizers, have your friends at the university book you speaking dates at their school in return for student funds; make sure the bail fund stays with someone who is even-handed, trustworthy, and always easy to reach. Likewise, consider what your media

"THE ROAD OF PROVIDENCE IS UNEVEN AND UNPREDICTABLE": PREEMPTING HISTORY IN GUANTANAMO

This is an edited extract of a text that first appeared in Milner, Ryan and Savage (eds) *Imagining the Future*, Arena Journal, no. 25/26.

In 2002, Donald Rumsfeld announced that the US military must have the capacity to "deter and defeat enemies that have not yet emerged."⁽¹⁾ Rumsfeld was outlining the US doctrine of preemption, which requires that threats must be defeated before they are actualized. While the enemies Rumsfeld had in mind were states and terrorist organization, it is worth asking if there is anything in this doctrine that can help us to understand Guantanamo Bay. After all, the US military is quite explicit in admitting that the designation of an individual as an enemy combatant does not suggest that the individual has necessarily committed any act—let alone a criminal act—in the past. To establish guilt prior to an act, and to work to ensure that the emergent act can never materialize—this is the basis for the US doctrine of preemption. In Guantanamo Bay, I will suggest, this doctrine of preemption is extended to individuals.

Preemption, in contrast to earlier doctrines like earlier doctrines like deterrence and containment, is predicated on the idea that we inhabit an increasingly unpredictable world, without the stability provided by the well-known enemies of the cold war. This has two ramifications: first, planning is an increasingly inadequate in dealing with the future: in Rumsfeld's infamous distinction between the known-knowns, the known-unknowns and the unknown-unknowns, the future increasingly takes the form of an unknown-unknown. Secondly, those who are considered enemies are no longer states, which desire self-preservation, but individuals willing to risk all, even annihilation. Against the suicide bomber, deterrence—the threat of massive retaliation—is useless.

Preemption then, occurs at the level of intent not action. Preemption is necessary, we are told, because "rogue states" and terror networks are seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction: these groups are deserving of preemptive attack not because of actions they have already taken, but because they desire the ability to act, and must be frustrated in that desire. Preemption aims to ensure absolute US military dominance in the future—a dominance so profound that others will abandon all plans to use force, or even to develop the capacity to do so. Preemption aims to monopolize violence into the future.

This doctrine of preemption is justified through a notion of historical progress which is conceived as both inevitable and fragile—as the path of history itself, and as a path that could be terrifyingly disrupted. If the US is able to justify monopolizing violence into the future, it is because it paints itself as the bearer of a necessary future—as the embodiment of historical progress. In Bush's words:

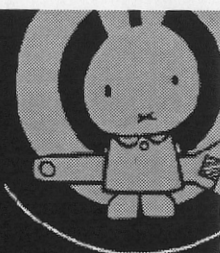
"The 20th century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on non-negotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women and private property and free speech and equal justice and religious tolerance.

America cannot impose this vision...[but] we will defend the peace that makes progress possible." (2)

This model of progress is conceived as the spread across the globe of freedom and democracy (the free market and the ballot box). This model is conceived as inevitable, as a "wave of liberty;" that is fundamentally the wave of capital.

Against those who seek to reveal the interests served by this historical narrative, the Bush administration insists that this single model of progress is a universal history, which expresses the aspirations of all humanity, and enables a better future for all people.

strategy will be in different scenarios —whether it will be wiser to attract a lot of attention and support to the case, or to try to keep it under the radar.



Media: Establish what coverage you want and get it

Long before an action, when you are establishing and prioritizing goals, work out exactly how much media coverage you want, from which sources, and how you are going to obtain or avoid it. This could mean composing and sending out a press release (Who, What, When, Where, How, Why) or a communiqué, electing a spokesperson to represent your project to the press, inviting corporate or independent reporters to the action or to a press conference, faxing announcements or making press calls, offering interviews (in person or anonymously over the phone), or having members of your group cover documentation themselves. If you want to avoid certain kinds of coverage, it could also mean assigning a participant to make sure photographers do not aim their cameras at those involved. If you are communicating with the media, compose "talking points," sound bites that your spokesperson repeats to be sure they get in the media coverage; give representatives of the press as little material to work with as possible, so you can control what they use. Watch which reporters tend to provide positive coverage and approach them personally. Set up a webpage or use an existing website; if possible, get this address into corporate media coverage, to reroute their viewers or readers to your own media. You can also provide information to the public yourselves by poster, pirate radio, mailing out letters, or starting conversations door to door. If your action warrants high security, send your

"When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women... there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply fully to Africa and Latin America and the entire Islamic world... Mothers and fathers and children across the Islamic world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations".(3)

Despite Bush's claim that America "has no empire to extend or utopia to establish", in fact, this universal history is conceived as a utopia at which America has already arrived, and now seeks to extend to the rest of the globe.(4)

If this future is inevitable then why the need for preemption? Hannah Arendt has argued that every prediction for the future is a prediction as to what will occur if people do not act, if there are no accidents. Every action, every accident, Arendt argues, could "destroy the whole pattern in whose frame the prediction moves and where it finds its evidence." (5) This helps explain the combination of inevitability and desperation that marks the historical discourse of the Bush administration. On the one hand, they are the bearers of a universal history, of a single model of progress, unfolding independently of human action. On the other, this progress is incredibly fragile, facing horrific and unpredictable threats. If September 11 suggested we were far from the end of history, it did not convince those who saw themselves as bearers of this history that the end could be different to that which had been heralded prematurely—the global spread of liberal democracy and the free market—let alone that the teleological view of history should be abandoned. Rather it suggested that history needed some help. With its superior military power and alignment with universal history, the US would act, in the name of history itself, to eradicate every action and accident that threatens to destabilize this end of history. The US would pre-empt all threats to the course of history. With the doctrine of preemption, the US, has taken it upon itself to ensure that no act is possible, no contingency remains, nothing can prevent the future from unfolding according to its telos. As Bush expressed it in his 2005 State of the Union Address: "The road of Providence is uneven and unpredictable -- yet we know where it leads: It leads to freedom." (6)

With this vision of history in mind, we can return to the Guantanamo detainee. Guilt, we will then see, is the transgression of the "law of history." To be guilty—according to this totalitarian vision of freedom—is to imagine the possibility of action, to attempt to hold the future open, or to imagine a future other than that which apparently expresses all humanity's aspirations. This guilt is not concerned with past acts, but with possible future ones—hence the obsessive focus on terrorist training camps. Those in Guantanamo are guilty of imagining different futures—many of which may be just as dystopic as Bush's version—and of attempting to disrupt the monopoly on violence that would guarantee this future. As this future is premised on the continuity of the sovereign will of the United States, it is necessary that individuals be stripped of the power to use violence not only in the present, but also into the future.

An individual's capacity to use violence, however, is not predicated on military hardware, but simply on the existence of a will and a belief in the possible efficacy of one's actions. Thus, in Guantanamo, detainees are conceived as guilty as long as they are still convinced of their own capacities to act. They are guilty as long as they potentially represent a threat. And thus this is how Administration spokesman Paul Butler explains the purpose of Guantanamo's combatant status review tribunals: "What we're doing is we're reviewing people to see if they're still a threat. And if they are determined to be a threat then we will continue to hold them until they are no longer a threat anymore." (7)

These tribunals are precisely not trials: they are not concerned with the past, but only with what people may do in the future. These annual reviews assume that guilt, which is projected into the future, cannot be judged once and for all, but must be eradicated over time. That this possibility of eradicating guilt is fundamental to the Combatant Status Review Tribunal process, is demonstrated in the assertion by Secretary England that "a CSRT determination that a detainee no longer meets the criteria for classification as an enemy combatant does not necessarily mean that the prior classification as EC [enemy combatant] was wrong" (8) An enemy combatant then, can cease to be an enemy combatant, thereby becoming a "No Longer Enemy Combatant": the guilty can become not guilty. To be no longer guilty is to no longer be a threat—to have been stripped of the power to act, to be absolutely resigned to the onslaught of the universal history for which the US acts as bodyguard.

Released British detainee Asif Iqbal tells that immediately before his release from Guantanamo he was asked to sign a statement. "I don't remember exactly what it said", he says "but it was along the lines that I was a member of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, however I have since changed. In other words I had changed my mind since I was detained at Guantanamo Bay." (9) What does it mean to change in Guantanamo Bay?

In interrogator language, changing is more commonly referred to as breaking—a terminology that refers to the point at which a detainee loses all resolve and begins to talk. Information from Guantanamo reveals what is necessary to break an individual, and what is at stake in stripping an individual of a guilt that consists solely in the capacity to act. This is revealed most clearly in this excerpt from the interrogation log of detainee 063, Mohammed al-Qatani:

20 December 2002. 1115: Detainee offered water—refused. Corpsman changed ankle bandages to prevent chafing. Interrogator began by reminding the detainee about the lessons in respect and how the detainee had disrespected the interrogators. Told detainee that a dog is held in higher esteem because dogs know right from wrong and know to protect innocent people from bad people. Began teaching the detainee lessons such as stay, come, and bark to elevate his social status up to that of a dog. Detainee became very agitated. (10)

If to be guilty is to retain the capacity to act, to be no longer guilty is to have been absolutely de-subjectified, to have lost, absolutely, the power to resist or to act. While this de-subjecti-

fication is an individualized and tailored process—constructed with the assistance of doctors and psychologists—it is not primarily aimed at the individual concerned, but at the population more widely. In contrast to the image of a speaking subject with valuable information who must remain a subject in order to provide enlightenment, we see the spectacle of absolute de-subjectification and dehumanization.

The real importance of preemption lies in providing a demonstration of power, which will motivate others to abandon plans to challenge this power. The test of preemption in Iraq then, lies in whether Iran, North Korea or Libya abandon plans to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, Guantanamo aims to provide a spectacle of absolute US dominance, in strong contrast to the reality of US power across the globe. Guantanamo Bay is the marketing campaign for US power. It is not just states and organisations who are supposed to see manifestations of preemptive force and give up their desires to challenge US global dominance. When preemption is extended to individuals, it instrumentalises the lives of those it touches in order to interpolate all those who would imagine they could resist, or act to introduce contingency into the course of history. It is for this reason—and not due to administrative bungling—that we have seen the “inadvertent de-classification” of masses of documents detailing the regime of terror within Guantanamo. We are supposed to know what occurs in Guantanamo Bay. We are supposed to know that the US military can teach those who once resisted them to bark like dogs. Why? Because we must be faced with the image of an absolute sovereign power, a

power that is so absolute, even against intentions, that we will renounce any desire to challenge the future that the US is attempting to bequeath to the world.

Despite this continuous recourse to force, the US does not herald itself as waging an unending war, but as guaranteeing the peace, and the future of a secure humanity. However, just as peace, internally to the nation-state, is conceived as an absence of civil war or disorder, premised on the state's monopolization of the violence, so too the end of history utopia of peace and liberty, proclaimed by Bush, is finally reducible to a globe where no power has the ability to challenge US hegemony, and where no act will be capable of disrupting the telos of capital.

That this vision of the future is both megalomaniacal—with its greatly extended spatial and temporal aspirations—and unachievable—in its desire to strip the globe entirely of subjects with the capacity to act—seems obvious. What this vision enables however, is the constant use of violence, or unending war. From the perspective of those who seek to resist this vision, to reinstate contingency and leave the future open, this vision of progress—conceived as the eradication of action and the depoliticisation of the globe—appears as it does to Walter Benjamin's angel of history: as a single catastrophe, which piles wreckage upon wreckage.

1 Donald Rumsfeld: “21st Century Transformations of US Armed Forces”, Transcript of address to National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington DC, January 31, 2002, <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2002/s20020131-secdef.html>, p3.

2 George W. Bush: “Remarks by the President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York” [The West Point Speech], June 1 2002, http://www.nti.org/e_research/official_docs/pres/bush_wp_prestrike.pdf

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Hannah Arendt: “On Violence”, in *Crisis of the Republic*, Harcourt, New York, 1972, p105.

6 George W. Bush, “State of the Union Address”, 2005, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/transcripts/bushtext_020205.html

7 Ratner and Ray, *Guantanamo: What the World Should Know*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2004, p143.

8 Secretary of the Navy, Gordon England: “Defense Department Special Briefing on Combatant Status Review Tribunals”, Tuesday March 29, 2005, <http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2005/tr20050329-2382.html>.

9 Shafiq Rasul, Asif Iqbal and Rhuhel Ahmed: *Composite Statement: Detention in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay*, Centre for Constitutional Rights, 2004, p85.

10 Ibid, p23

11 Walter Benjamin, “Thesis IX”, *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, <http://www.tasc.ac.uk/depart/media/staff/ls/WBenjamin/CONCEPT2.html#Carthage>.



LAKE COWAL: THE STORY SO FAR

Lake Cowal (Central West NSW) is an internationally significant wetland, and what's more, it is the heartland of the Wiradjuri Nation. Lake Cowal has been illegally occupied and mined for gold by the world's largest gold mining company, Canadian-based Barrick Gold.



The Wiradjuri Fight

There have been two Native Title claims on Lake Cowal. The first claimant group withdrew their claim after negotiating with Barrick Gold and setting up the Wiradjuri Condobolin Corporation. The second claim from the Mooka Kalara United Families is still alive in the courts. Despite Native Title over Lake Cowal remaining unresolved, Barrick have now officially opened the Lake Cowal Gold Project and are in full production. Just another notch on the Federal Government's belt in their cunning plan to fool the Australian people into believing Native Title works for Traditional Owners. Native Title offers claimants a six-month period to negotiate with mining companies; failing a resolution in this time frame, a mining company's lease to mine overrides Native Title.

But what happens when mining operations become established and continue despite unresolved Native Title claims...? We will wait and see. The Mooka Kalara United Families have (as stated by the Judge in this Native Title Hearing) "the best genealogy I've ever seen". This claim will be the first Native Title claim in NSW to be heard in court for determination, as opposed to a Native Title Tribunal.

Lake Cowal is rich with artefacts and marked trees. It is a Corroboree site to this day. Lake Cowal is also the site of many massacres, a testament to the Wiradjuri Nation's sovereignty.

'To destroy a nation's most sacred site can be seen as nothing short of genocide and ethnocide and a denial of spiritual and religious freedom,' under s.116 of the Australian Constitution.

The NSW National Parks and Wildlife have issued Barrick with several permits under sections 87 and 90 of the National Parks and Wildlife Act, which consent to destroy and remove artefacts from Lake Cowal and surrounds, as far as Temora (200km from the Lake). This was disputed in the courts, on the legal grounds that NPW is the sole NSW Government body protecting Aboriginal artefacts, yet they have section 87 and 90 in the NPWA to destroy the very thing they are

delegated to protect.

Sacred Water

Barrick have been issued 157 water licenses by the NSW Department of Natural Resources. The original consent for water allocations was for up to 3660 million litres a year; however, 50 of the full production bores licensed to Barrick equate to 7310 million litres a year. With the new system of water trading in Australia, it is entirely possible that Barrick can buy allocations from farmers and irrigators well beyond the 3660 million litres.

In a recent article from the ABC, it was stated that 80 farmers from around Lake Cowal have complained of water pressure dropping in their bores. The groundwater has dropped 35m in two and half years! This drop in ground water may just be essential factor in the environmental conditions necessary to mine Lake Cowal. This is in a region of the Murray Darling Basin, which, it is predicted, will run out of water in 2007.

What we don't know - what no one knows - is how this mining operation will affect the hydrology and geology of this internationally significant wetland, the Murray Darling Basin and the Lachlan Paleochannel.

Deadly

6000 tonnes of cyanide will be brought to Lake Cowal each year. The first imports are already there. There are two tailings dams each 1.5 square km in size, and 3.5 km from the Lakebed. They are lined only with a layer of clay. By Barrick scientist's own admissions, cyanide will be leached into groundwater for up to 50 years!

Heavy metals such as mercury and arsenic exist in waste rock from the open pit, which are accumulative and detrimental to health. These heavy metals will be present in tailings and waste rock piles around the mine site. In months like September and October, this region experiences strong winds of around 30 knots per hour, potentially spreading mercury and arsenic for hundreds of kilometres.



The Open Pit

The area of the mining lease is 2636 hectares. The open pit at Lake Cowal is directly on the shore of the Lake: this pit will be 1 kilometre long, 825 metres wide and 325 metres (the height of highpoint tower in Sydney) deep. 208 million tonnes of waste rock will be removed from the open pit to extract

2.7 million ounces of gold.

For Bling, for Money and for Power

Keeping in mind that 80 % of all new gold produced is used for jewellery, Barrick Gold have 27 producing gold and silver mines globally, 7 advanced exploration mines and are exploring on over 100 properties in 16 countries including South Africa, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Papua New Guinea, and Canada. In Australia alone, Barrick have projects at Cowal, Darlot, Granny Smith, Henty, Lawlers, Kalgoorlie, Kanowna and Osborne (copper).

One of Barrick's other contentious mines is the Pascua Lama project on the border of Chile and Argentina, where they will remove a Glacier to mine gold and silver. This operation will involve an open pit at 4,600-metre elevation. The Pascua Lama project was consented to by the Chilean Environmental Regulatory body in early 2006, and is waiting on consent from the Argentine regulatory body. Barrick are planning to be in operation by 2009, despite a list of approvals not yet obtained.

In early 2006 Barrick bought Placer dome, making Barrick the largest gold mining company in the world. Barrick have also acquired Pioneer Metals Corporation and now have their eyes set on taking over Nova Gold.

The Lake Cowal campaign has been a fight for justice, a struggle to protect a wetland, a political fight against the use of cyanide and the gross over-allocation of water to an overseas company. To value gold over culture, sacred land and precious water has driven this company to stand over

Indigenous communities across the world. This fight will continue. When people lay down against international bullies like Barrick, it affects not only a single regional community, but enables multinationals to grow and exploit communities in other countries where the legal system offers even less protection than Australia's. In Australia, we have the opportunity to stand against Barrick Gold; to stand in solidarity with Indigenous people across the world; and to fight for justice and for the earth.

Mia

Find out more about the campaign:

www.savelakecowal.org
www.rainforestinfo.org.au
www.peacebus.com



BANDICOOT INSURGENT REBEL CLOWN ARMY

bandicoot insurgent rebel clown army (BIRCA) is a burst of fresh rebellion, we are playing at both breaking down our barriers and building beautiful things in the cracks.

breaking it down... who holds power in society? how can we transform that? who do we decide to grant authority to? how much of our existence is playing into imposed rules? what kind of a world do we really want?

building.. we are meeting together regularly, friendships are formed, different peoples from radical and performing arts communities come together and we laugh and shout and whisper. we are working through years of social conditioning to collectively believe in our ability to make change. building, our selves, our communities of resistance and creativity..

<http://birca.blogspot.com/>



VAN OVERTURNS

Passengers Unharmd

A delivery van owned by Mayne, Nickless Ltd., carriers, of York street, South Melbourne, overturned in Heidelberg road, Clifton Hill, last evening. The driver, Richard Johnson, aged 22 years, of Clifton Hill, was treated for shock. St. Vincent's Hospital for shock. Passengers escaped injury.

The van was one of a new type recently introduced by the company and was badly damaged. Although the windows were not broken.

The accident occurred when the driver attempted to avoid a car entering Heidelberg road from Dwyer street. The van skidded, struck the concrete division in the centre of the road, and returned. Both back wheels were wrenching off and the van turned over several times to rest impaled on two steel beams in the concrete.

MILK DELIVERY

Although the Milk Board has control over the question of Sunday deliveries of milk, it is concerned about arrangements of sweating in the industry, and according to the chairman (Mr. T. Packer), be prepared to call a conference of the interested parties to discuss the matter.

Mr. Packer said yesterday that the suggestion of a conference on Sunday deliveries was one for the wages board and union.

Members of the Milk Board will to-day begin a two days' tour of milk-producing centres in Gippsland preparatory to considering the request for an increase in wholesale milk prices.

RGED

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McCarthy was admitted to the Alfred Hospital suffering from serious head injuries, and died late on Monday night. A post-mortem at the city morgue revealed that death had been due to an injury of the brain.

Desmond Patrick Toole, 27 years, salesman, of St. Kilda, was charged with taking away morning. and was charged with having murdered McCarthy.

DEPUTATION NOT ADMITTED

A deputation from the Australian Aborigines League, which visited the German Consulate yesterday, with the intention of conveying to the Consul (Dr. R. W. Drechsler) a resolution condemning the persecution of Jews and Christians in Germany, was refused admittance.

A letter requesting Dr. Drechsler to forward the resolution to his Government was left at the consulate. The resolution, voiced, "on behalf of the aborigines of Australia, a strong protest at the cruel persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazi Government of Germany, and asks that this persecution be brought to an end."

Delegates will attend the immigration conference called by the Council for Civic Liberties at the Assembly Hall tomorrow night and on Saturday from four Protestant Churches, six foreign communities, several Jewish and non-Jewish organisations, and six trade unions. Lieut.-Colonel White, M.H.R., will deliver an address on Saturday night. The sessions will be open to the public.

Look for the SHOPPERS' GUIDE in "The Argus" on Thursday.—[Advt.]

Usually
45 Gns.,
29 Gns.

Illustrated at right is one of four styles in per quality African and Windsor down DYED Ermine Capes with be-coming Peter Pan, Prussian, and Tie-ers, also featuring newest square-der lines. Usually 45 gns. for 29 gns.

63 Squirrel SWAGGER

Squirrel, natural or cocoa dyed, with

10 EASTERN SABLE N

Two in deep sable tones

52 SQUIRREL & SKUN

Cross-styles. 59/6 values also for

£7 9/6 SQUIRREL LOCK

Windsor brown, with Prussian or two-way

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Luxuriously, fully furred winter skins. Some

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Indian Lamb Princess Model Coat. Full Guineas
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Furs and Fashions . . .

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HOW NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE HAVE TRIED TO HELP INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES IN AUSTRALIA

This story looks at examples, both historical and recent, of non-Indigenous solidarity with the struggle for Indigenous rights in Australia in order to draw out both lessons and inspiration. This includes a reflection on the Indigenous-led Black GST protests at the Stolenwealth Games in Melbourne in March 2006, focusing in particular on a moment when the nature of support by non-Indigenous people was questioned by some Indigenous leaders and attempts made to redirect it. It concludes by outlining a few practices and suggestions made by activists and organizations for building effective connections between Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists. The story is intended as a glimpse into a complex history and tries to offer ways of thinking about activist relationships across colonizer-colonized difference. It is largely informed by my experience, particularly my connections with Aboriginal educators, as an activist through the Melb Uni group Students for Land Justice and Reconciliation and the Black GST, a broadcaster on 3CR (Fire First, Wed 11am-12noon), as well as working for and serving as a member of the committee of management for ANTAR Victoria. I am also pursuing these issues through my current PhD studies.

Note: Gary Foley's 1999 essay on 'Whiteness and Blackness in the Koori Struggle for Self-Determination' provides an in-depth account of 'some of the specific problems that bedevil smooth relations between Indigenous political activists and their non-Koori supporters' and 'the history of this internal struggle' and is available at http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_9.html.

A brief history of non-Indigenous solidarity with the struggle for Indigenous rights

Writers of black political history have written about the incredibly rich and inspiring Indigenous struggle for self-determination since the onset of invasion and colonisation.

I would like to focus however, on some instances of actions and efforts of non-Indigenous people. I am inspired by several great non-Indigenous activists who have really stood alongside Indigenous people. I'll only mention two – Don McLeod was a communist who worked in a wonderful way with Aboriginal people from the Pilbara, in the north-west of Australia, who in 1946 staged a major strike against basically slave conditions on pastoral stations (see the 1987 'How the West was lost', Ronin films).

Another was Mrs Ann Bon, who came to live near Melbourne in 1858 and became passionately committed for the rest of her life to supporting and arguing for the rights of the Taungurung and Woiwurrung speaking peoples of the Coranderk mission (see community mini-history The widow of Wappan, Heather Matthew, 2003).

The reason I draw attention to Ann Bon and Don McLeod is that I think that in owning my non-Indigenous identity, I need to seek out non-Indigenous role models, as well as admiring Indigenous people. So I rejoice when I hear about non-Indigenous people who protested against the policies of the day over the centuries.

However, there have been many problems with the way non-Indigenous people have tried to help.

At times, they have set up all-white organizations, with no reference to or knowledge of Aboriginal activists. In the 1930s, quite a number of white feminists, who had just got the vote for women, saw it as their duty to now speak on behalf of Aboriginal women and children for their rights. Several got themselves on advisory boards and so on, to advocate for what they thought was best for Indigenous women (see *Loving Protection? Australian feminism and Aboriginal Women's rights 1919-1939*, Fiona Paisley, 2000). While well-intended, and relatively progressive, this did not necessarily match an Indigenous political agenda of the day. How would they have known the political agenda when reportedly, they did not really know any Aboriginal activists – who were certainly around at the time (eg the all-Aboriginal Australian Aborigines League, established in early 1936 in Melbourne).

At other times non-Indigenous people have controlled organizations for 'Aboriginal Advancement', and overtly resisted Aboriginal control of their own movement, their tactics and strategies. This was the case in an organization called FCAATSI, the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. FCAATSI, active in the 1960s, split over the issue of voting and decision-making rights and bringing about black control within the organisation.

In many ways these dynamics are very real in solidarity today. Paternalism takes many, sneaky forms. We all have to be alert to this and constantly reflect on how and why people are interacting within the struggle.

Indigenous-led Black GST protests at the 'Stolenwealth' Games

The Black GST stands for: genocide to be stopped, sovereignty to be acknowledged and treaties made. Genocide includes direct killing of people and the removal of children. These things characterize the treatment of Aboriginal people in Australia. The still unresolved issue of the illegal acquisition of sovereignty over Australia by the British is the second conflict. And the third issue points to a way forward – treaty-making. The Black GST group, in particular a Gunai man called Robbie Thorpe, re-badged the Commonwealth Games the 'Stolenwealth' Games.

The Black GST proposed to target the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne (March 2006) for protests as a strategy which self-consciously placed itself in the political history of the Aboriginal struggle, by mobilizing around an important national occasion where an international media presence was expected. It also connected to the radical spirit and politics of the famous Aboriginal Embassy which was established in Canberra, the national capital, in 1972, outside parliament house, as a direct provocation around the question of sovereignty.

This time, however, the protest was centred even more explicitly on the symbols of the Empire itself – the coat of arms, the Queen on her visit, and Government House – where she was staying and where her State representative (Governor of Victoria) lives. A protest camp, known as Camp Sovereignty, from which actions were launched was established in King's Domain, close to Government House. Captain James Cook's cottage (transported here brick by brick from England, complete with Union Jack) was also targeted. The cottage was wrapped in crime scene tape, highlighting the crimes Cook committed against Aboriginal people, and the illegal nature of the British claim to sovereignty.

The flame of resistance/sacred fire established as the centre point of Camp Sovereignty referred to the persistence of both the Aboriginal struggle and of Aboriginal culture, while providing for Aboriginal ways of organizing and discussing. Camp Sovereignty was held beyond the fortnight of the Games, being forced out after 60 days.

The nature of support by non-Indigenous people

About a week into the camp, there were some "intercultural" problems – or more accurately, some issues of internal colonialism. A racist, missionary vibe had been allowed to develop, with hundreds of over-keen white supporters outnumbering and putting off Indigenous people, occupying those roles properly filled by Indigenous people, and assuming control of the running of the camp. Suddenly the camp was not a space that was empowering for Aboriginal people, a place that should have enacted sovereignty and autonomy. It seemed a microcosm of the rest of Australia.

I worked with Black GST activists to tackle this issue and we agreed to convene two meetings – one for the Indigenous campers and one for the non-Indigenous. The outcome was that the Indigenous meeting requested the non-Indigenous campers to continue supporting the campaign but to attend camp only during the day and not camp there overnight. (See Black GST Newsletter 3 April 2006 for an account of the message delivered from the Indigenous meeting at camp on 18 March to the non-Indigenous group.)

Some non-Indigenous people were hurt, upset and confused by this decision. However, a core group continued to support the campaign in the ways requested. Many more actions and marches were staged and many people assisted in defending the camp as it maintained its presence in King's Domain over the next 2 months.

Nevertheless, the ramifications of this decision about the camp are still being processed by non-Indigenous supporters. In fact it has proved, for some, an opportunity to learn more deeply what colonialism means and how we embody and enact it in our relationships.

Negotiating a connection with Aboriginal people

So if this 'crisis' can occur in a radical space, in which non-Indigenous people supposedly recognize the issues of genocide, sovereignty and treaty, what are the possible points of connection between black and white activists? The words of Tim Anderson – an activist/academic, ANTaR Victoria's current practice and Denis Walker's call for treaty now, included below, offer three ways of thinking about how non-Indigenous people might seek to manifest their individual or collective support for Indigenous self-determination.

Writer and long-time Australian activist and academic Tim Anderson offers several suggestions for a relationship that supports Indigenous self-determination (see 'Solidarity Activism, Identity Politics and Popular Education', <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/story18.html>):

- "non-Aboriginal supporters can never have a "full vote" on the decision making processes of [the self-determination] struggle"
- "supporters can advise and argue, where there is a relationship of trust"
- "Indigenous voices must not only be heard, but must be supported in taking the leading role" – non-Indigenous people with a close working relationship must watch for the tendency to imagine a greater role and basically start to intrude and impose themselves – albeit in a well-meaning way
- Supporters should undertake our own journeys of understanding our identities and roots if possible – and finding our own voices – so as to speak on behalf of our own outrage at the inequality and disrespect in the relationship between Indigenous-non-Indigenous communities.

Essentially, in offering these principles of solidarity, Tim Anderson says "the appropriate principles are those of good friendship: involving mutual respect, knowing and recognising who you are, speaking for yourself and supporting your [Indigenous] friends' decisions in their own life, and self-determination, decisions."

ANTaR Victoria, the organization I am now involved with, has a problematic history but has a strong rationale for how it currently operates:

ANTaR Victoria was created for and worked towards a goal (defending the Native Title system) that was antithetical to the interests of progressive Aboriginal activists and intellectuals. This still casts a shadow on ANTaR's work although it have now moved on quite considerably. ANTaR's aim is now much broader and entails trying to create a political climate in Australia within which Indigenous rights can be recognized and the social and economic inequalities redressed. It is made up of a network of local groups in Melbourne and around the state of Victoria, each consisting of 5-20 people. All these groups organize their own local activities and participate in political campaigning at a state or national level.

HOW NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE HAVE TRIED TO HELP INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES IN AUSTRALIA

Philosophy of ANTaR Victoria, as a predominantly non-Indigenous organization, is to take responsibility for community education towards realization of recognition, coming to terms with the impact of colonialism upon both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (racism). It is fair to say that Aboriginal people have been talking and talking about the issues throughout their long struggle. ANTaR believes that it is the duty of non-Indigenous people to listen properly and spread this message further, and to work on our own community.

Aboriginal people are working both with their communities and on their struggle, and at the same time bearing the burden of educating the majority-dominant culture. Recent activities by ANTaR's state office have included a successful attention-grabbing action with 6-foot letters spelling STOLENWEALTH GAMES in solidarity with the Black GST campaign; a project bringing together Indigenous, refugee, migrant and Anglo high school students to create links and address racism; a local history tour; a major public forum on the issue of treaty; an exhibition about identity; a play about reconciliation; a 'white blindfold ritual' highlighting racism; and assisted with Indigenous sports carnivals.



photo left: Wayne Thorpe addressing the crowd at a Black GST action.

photo below: aerial of 'Stolenwealth' at Black GST camp.



ANTaR Victoria's action with the STOLENWEALTH GAMES letters was based on the approach that this gesture should not demand involvement, time or energy from Indigenous people. It responded to the Black GST's call for support, aiming to contribute to the political climate in which the messages of the Black GST would be heard, and to demonstrate that at least some non-Indigenous people supported the group's protests.

In this way ANTaR tried to live up to its intention to do some of the creative work in inciting greater interest in Indigenous rights and taking on some of the burden of educating non-Indigenous people. It was successful in that the media loved it and we got lots of coverage both domestically and internationally. The timing was good because it happened the day after Camp Sovereignty was established. Camp Sovereignty adopted the letters for the camp and for further actions.

Denis Walker, a Noonuccal man from Stradbroke Island near Brisbane (and founder of the Black Panther party Australia in 1972) emphasizes the need to 'take it further than just being conscious about what's going on around the place and protesting about it ... I've devised a treaty mechanism whereby you can treaty in ... with us, now, so that we can realize our radical title, you save yourselves in the long run' ("Treaty, Freehold and Radical Title: Contribution to discussion time, Inaugural Black GST public meeting, 18 May 2005", <<http://www.antarvictoria.org.au/treaty/RadicalTitle.html>>; also find here a copy of the model treaty). In 'taking it further' I understand Walker to mean that a real and genuine form of commitment by non-Indigenous people would more adequately demonstrate and make real recognition of Aboriginal people in the most relevant senses. Walker's treaty mechanism, enables individuals to 'treaty in' with Aboriginal people - be they Aboriginal individuals, groups, or state or national based campaigners. The key aspect of the treaty is that it recognizes Aboriginal sovereignty. By entering into a treaty, non-Indigenous people bypass the illegitimate claim on 'radical title' (legal terminology referring to ultimate power to control and distribute land) made by the state. Walker argues that this is the best way for non-Indigenous people to really secure their title on Australian land. It also provides direct support to Aboriginal people via the concept of paying the rent. Apart from the stark differences in life chances and privilege which divide us, perhaps it is the lack of a genuine form of commitment and recognition that continues to plague the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists (and communities more widely).

Under the societal conditions we tolerate - or resist, as the case may be - perhaps genuine dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists is not possible, or only fleetingly so. Perhaps it is possible only if it is based on a radicalized relationship (such as that manifested under Walker's treaty), wherein there is a commitment to subvert the conditions of colonialism on an individual and societal level.

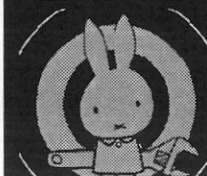
Clare Land

communiqué from a public computer that leaves no record of who uses it. Be aware of how the devices you use can incriminate you; for example, electronic cameras imprint photos with coding that can be used to identify the camera that took them.

Groundwork Planning: Study the context, chart a strategy, plan for different scenarios

Proper planning is the essence of safe, effective direct action. Keeping your goals and priorities in mind along with the re-sources you have to work with, plot and compare different strategies. Weigh out the risks and potential rewards of each: always pick the safest way to accomplish a given objective, and make sure you can afford to take the risks you choose. It often happens that as the planning process goes on, a project will get more and more ambitious and hazardous, until some of those involved start to have doubts; at this point, it may be necessary to work out a safer or scaled-down version of the plan, so it can still take place. There are countless factors to take into account in planning. You must pick the most effective tactics in the context of the current social and political situation. You must pick the best location for the action and take into account all its attributes; likewise, you must pick the best date and time of day. You must bear in mind the others who will be in the area, and how they can be expected to react—will they be sympathetic, or will hostile vigilantes interfere with your activities? You must coordinate the timing of different parts of the action, predicting how long each will take, and figure out how those involved in the action will communicate. When predicting the responses of others—say, for example, the police—consider the factors influencing them: Are they expecting what you're planning, or do you have the element of surprise? If you have the advantage of surprise, how long will it last? Will there be a lot of attention focused on the event? Will it be immediately apparent what you are doing? Will there be middle-class citizens or reporters around, and will their presence put a damper on the authorities' response? What is their strategy likely to be? Do their bosses want them to come down hard on you, or to avoid provoking a scene? How well do they communicate, how fast do they move, where are they located and what routes will they take? Don't underestimate the challenges of simple logistical matters, such as trans- porting people or communicating in stressful situations. Don't forget to plan an exit strategy, either. Because plans rarely come off exactly as they are laid, it's important to have backup plans worked out for different scenarios: "If ____, we'll ____; if ____, we'll ____."

Have a few different objectives in mind, in case your ideal one turns out to be impossible. Having a basic structure for communications and decision-making in place will help you be



The Mexico-Australia Solidarity Network (MASN) supports La Sexta Declaracion de la Selva Lacandona and seeks to promote understanding of its aims, and act in solidarity with La Otra Campaña.

MASN plans to engage in four main activities:

- * education in Australia of La Sexta and La Otra Campaña and the broader political situation in Mexico;
- * accredit Australian activists seeking to visit Zapatista communities;
- * to run campaigns in solidarity with struggle for civil society in Mexico;
- * and to raise funds to support Zapatista communities and political struggles in Mexico.

For more information about the MASN, please contact Andrew at ajon3678@mail.usyd.edu.au. To subscribe to the network's mailing list, send an email to masn@masn.org.au or visit our discussion list info page on www.masn.org.au



On the Sixth Declaration of the Lacondon Jungle: The Other Campaign, Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar

Translator's Introduction: While this piece was written in 2005, we thought it was important to translate and circulate in order to help elevate the level of conversation and analysis around the Other Campaign which we have found to be extremely lacking as of late. That is, instead of the repetitive, disoriented, and somewhat tedious critiques and commentaries of the EZLN's role in the Other Campaign, ranging from attacks from disgruntled social democrats to the vacuous defences by sycophantic "followers," Gutierrez here goes straight to the singular importance of the Other Campaign, taking on serious questions and confronting timely issues which arise in the construction of a political network, the constitution of a collective subject, and the determination of common actions. When viewed in this light, and despite the hopes of its detractors, the Other Campaign will not disappear from view; it cannot disappear because it remains firmly engrained at a certain limit point between the innovations and constrictions of contemporary political imagination; as such, the Other Campaign remains central to the limit point which we all inhabit and out of which we all must create.

In the following pages I will develop some ideas about two key issues I consider relevant and which are emphasized in the Sixth Declaration of the Lacondon Jungle and in other documents related to the Other Campaign. The first is the question of what it means to initiate "another way of doing politics," and the second is related to who and how the Other Campaign will be implemented. I present these ideas without any intent to provide final answers, but rather to examine possible arguments that open new questions and point to possible problems.

What does it mean to commit oneself to "another form of doing politics?"

To begin with, I introduce and take on Rhina Roux's formulation, who states, arguing for the significance of the "political:" "the understanding of politics as an activity referring to the State, as an action oriented toward the control of the State apparatus, whether that be as means or ends...forms part of the political imaginary of modernity that accompanies the existence of the sovereign nation-state and its delimited territory." [2]

It is precisely this political imaginary that the EZ has tried to break through in its public political practice of now nearly 12 years. With the publication of the Sixth Declaration, the zapatistas once again return to this point of view. That is, in Section IV of that document, "How we see our country which is Mexico," the zapatistas critique that social sector self-designated as the "political class," comparing it to a bunch of shopkeepers. The "political class," according to the zapatistas, is composed of traditional party leadership, politicians at all levels of governance, federal and state representatives and senators, etc.; that is, by the group of men and women who, through political parties, occupy State offices from which they, at their own discretion, make decisions that negatively affect the "humble and simple" of the Mexican population."

Having established this basic distinction as that which divides Mexican society, the zapatistas ask, "are we saying that politics are no good?" to which they immediately respond, "No, we are saying that this politics is no good." That is, in my understanding, what the zapatistas criticize and object to is the liberal politics of the formal procedural democracy where the prerogative to make and execute decisions belongs to a group of individuals who, once the electoral moment has passed, are not accountable to even a minimal social control. This is precisely what they distance themselves from: the multiple phenomena of usurpation/substitution of social will by the delegation of popular representation, even when there are "clear rules" that permit this form of alienation of social sovereignty. The Other Campaign intends to respond to this phenomena as well as to "do politics another way," which means, above all, to not get trapped in exercises of the delegation of social sovereignty. This in turn implies, under current social organizational forms, not centralizing political activity in the State, its institutions, or any of its corollaries. To be able to think of society not from the perspective of the State but rather from the autonomous self-organization of society's complexity is a contribution from Mesoamerican as well as Andean indigenous traditions that the EZ recovers in the 6th Declaration.

Having established this basic distinction between "the political class," whose activity is centred in the administration of public resources through the State, and those that do not take or follow that path, the zapatistas represent the latter, those who resist the decisions made by the former, appealing in classic terms to basic classifications, though broadening the realm of "resistances" to other problematics and sectors: indigenous workers of...

homosexuals, lesbians, transsexuals, and others, priests and nuns that are not with the rich, all those referred to as "social strugglers." The common thread in the acts of resistance among these diverse contingents of men and women is their challenge or insubordination to neo-liberal domination. That is, these are all people that see themselves affected by the decisions of the political class and that have recently and in various ways deployed their capacity to intervene directly in the public realm through protest, struggle, and resistance against the decisions of those above. For all of the above reasons it is clear that the zapatistas are not looking to build another political party that would someday confront the neo-liberals in the electoral realm. What the zapatistas have said before and say again now is that they don't want power—state power—although they do want to transform social relations, to challenge the diverse relations of domination and objecting to the exploitation of labour currently in fore in the country. That is, in an extremely tense electoral period in Mexico, one year before elections organized by a non-PRI government, the zapatistas burst into public space with their own plan, affirming once again that they do not intend an electoral takeover of the State, nor do they fight to impose control through some extra-institutional means. What is evident in the Sixth Declaration is that the zapatistas' interest in contributing to the transformation of the social relations of domination and exploitation currently existing more generally in the country, not only those that apply to the indigenous peoples.

It is in this sense that we can understand the significance of what the zapatistas are alluding to when they speak of "an 'other' politics." They refer to a group of practices that attempt to guide relationships between people, as they understand politics as a way of organizing social coexistence starting from some basic principals, "everything for everyone" and "rule by obeying" among the most important. They understand politics not as an activity specifically oriented toward the ordering of society by way of the administration of things, but rather as an ability to configure relationships between people in order to later establish relations with things. [3]

This is a central point of the zapatista document. An "other politics" does not consist of developing a platform for how it will govern once in office; it does not specify how it will administer resources or organize social life as a governing body. An "other politics" rather means to produce a "we" among those that do not benefit from neo-liberal plans and policies—that is, among the majority, to establish a limit between those that decide and command and those that suffer the consequences of these decisions and commands. An "other politics" will take place, according to the EZ, through the "Other Campaign," which basically offers a name for the desire to connect a common discontent, contributing first discursively and later organizationally to the production of a dissident "we" that can challenge neo-liberalism. This challenge is not offered as an alternative management of the country, but as a practical and autonomous challenge to those "unsuitable" decisions of the current governing structures, creating new ways of organizing social coexistence.

In a certain sense, then, the Other Campaign does not present itself as a classic ideological agreement, but rather a commitment to struggle that "unwraps" itself over time. This commitment is based in the possibility of joint, linked, coordinated actions between different people belonging to diverse social sectors against a "them" that was clearly defined as of the publication of the document entitled "The Impossible Geometry of Power" which foregrounded the Sixth Declaration: the Mexican political class in its totality and the "gentlemen of money." [4]

Who is the subject of the Other Campaign?

This said, and according to the way the EZ has organized this call to society "below and to the left," the subject of the Other Campaign is the group of men and women, organizations, groups, collectives, and peoples that have adhered to the Sixth Declaration and that have participated in some way in the activities, basically discussion-based, held up until now: attending the preparatory meetings or the plenary, sending letters, etc. In this sense, then, the subject of "Other Campaign" is that segment of the Mexican population that has configured something like a broad, loose, asymmetrical network, connecting individuals and collectives, social organizations and political groups with a stable, hierarchical political-military structure—that of the zapatistas. The pre-existing commitment among all of these groups is the collective acceptance of the necessity to implement "another form of doing politics" that does not exhaust itself in the electoral moment or procedure and that attempts to modify "neo-liberal" social relations.

The existence of this network in process of construction is founded, in my view, on two principal elements. First, in the action of subscribing to the Sixth Declaration, that is, in being part of an ideological agreement that can define a first level for a broad "we": "We as adherents and subscribers to the Sixth Declaration..." The second, and I think this is the most important, consists of the fact that this asymmetrical network-in-constitution must acquire a material presence, and thus a concrete existence, rooted in the actions that it is capable of carrying out. And here is where things get complicated: in order to give body to an agreement of this type that facilitates the material existence of network, it is necessary to recuperate certain organizational traditions of the indigenous peoples, which implies abandoning another group of practices common to the political left throughout the country.

Specifically on this point is where the asymmetry of the network is manifested most dramatically. One part of the network—at this point an entity still hypothetical and basically discursive—is constituted by the EZ, which has its own plan for how to conduct itself within the scene of "the Other Campaign," which it itself convoked and initiated. The other nodes of the network are not in a similar situation.

What this implies then, via the constitution of a network, is the production of a sense of belonging to something that goes beyond the local struggle, and confronting the difficulty of doing this in a country like Mexico where the unifica-

tion of “popular” social energy has long been produced and pushed by the State [5] through the use of the Mexican nation as a totalising recourse that establishes, delimits, and imposes just that sense of belonging. [6] For that reason, the goal of the constitution of a subject of the “Other Campaign,” as I understand it, consists in producing a new sense of belonging at the same time that it collectively constructs the material and symbolic “entity” to which the diverse groups that have signed onto the Sixth Declaration have subscribed; the Mexican nation, as opposed to a State occupied by the “political class,” functions in this case as a discursive bridge to these ends.

However, for this network-in-process to acquire a material presence that gives each group and sector a sense of belonging and connection, there must be a moment of joint action. In other words, it is necessary that the network-in-process be capable of assuming an end that can be undertaken and achieved in a collective fashion. Only through a collective action, which would effectively define us as capable of collective ends and as capable of recognizing ourselves in the actions of others oriented towards common ends, can we construct a network of autonomous groups, collectives, and individuals.

That is, the relation between “differents” can be produced in terms of solidarity or mutual aid, as in the case where the EZ supported the struggle of the IMSS (Mexican Institute of Social Security) workers last October; or it can be constructed in a broader scene where it produces unities rooted in collective actions taken to achieve objectives that are truly common. The first step, which has already been taken by the EZLN in the framework of “the Other Campaign,” is the promotion of solidarity links in and for the struggle of each specific sector. The case mentioned above of EZ support for the IMSS workers is a demonstration of this, although on this occasion the limits of such a relation were also revealed: there is somebody who struggles—and thus makes decisions and organizes the forms of struggle—and there is the rest of the group, or the network, which “supports” or is “in solidarity with” the mobilized contingent, participating in the actions that that contingent convokes.

Within the second alternative, that referring to the construction of a scene where the network as a whole is capable of taking on common objectives and coordinating actions to reach those objectives, we find “the journey of delegate X” throughout the entire Mexican Republic, which is to take place between January and June of 2006.

It is in this sense that I understand the document published by the EZLN November 23rd, where they explain how their organization will function in the framework of the “Other Campaign.” First, the EZ explicitly assumes as its responsibilities within the Sixth: 1) to make agreements and alliances with other leftist political forces; 2) to organize an intercontinental encounter; and 3) to support other struggles so that they advance. In addition, they explain that they have designated a Sixth Commission of the EZLN to link with

other groups and people within “the Other Campaign.” This commission is now known as “Enlace Zapatista.” That is, it is the Sixth Commission that, for now, will make the links between distinct groups and sectors, although they also say that “when the Other decides,” the Sixth Commission will cease to do this work—that of being the general link and the maintaining the page of adherents—at which point “Enlace Zapatista” will dedicate itself solely to the participation of the EZ in “the Other Campaign.” In technical terms, the formulation is impeccable: as it is the EZ that has played a highly relevant role in the convocation and organization of the “Other Campaign,” it is this organization, or the Sixth Commission specifically, that will initially take responsibility for linking the different adherents. When there is greater capacity within the network, the Sixth Commission will then function only as EZ representation in the Other Campaign. The practical question is, however, how can the network as a whole take on this capacity of self-constitution?

On this point I return to the question of how it is possible that a network constitutes itself as such. I believe that in order for a social network to take on a concrete existence it must go beyond an explicit verbal agreement, such as being leftist, not attempting to accumulate social force in order to take public offices, etc. Rather, it needs to launch common actions destined to resolve problems and satisfy necessities that are equally common. To the extent that a network is not just a rigid structure where functions are organized and tasks assigned but rather a collection of mobile links and connections that are tightened or deployed intermittently in order to achieve autonomously defined goals, the biggest problem I see here is how the network can provide itself these ends. Perhaps via the journey of the Sixth Commission throughout Mexican territory, what so far is has been deemed the “National Plan of Struggle,” an agreement and objectives of this kind can be produced, taking into account though that this particular method doesn’t contribute to diminishing the “asymmetry” between the EZ and the other nodes in the network as the EZ would be the only organization that had relationships with all of the others.

In this regard, some considerations. If the issue is constructing a network among distinct groups and collectives with the perspective of establishing connections in order to later wage struggles with common goals, this once again brings up a question already posed: the difficulty of constructing and constituting an “us” capable of a collective sense of belonging that encompasses socially and geographically diverse groups, collectives, and localities.

Within what have been the first actions developed in the framework of the “Other Campaign,” such as the collective celebration of Day of the Dead, which resignified this date as a day of resistance and remembrance for those killed, disappeared, or taken prisoner for political reasons, a series of questions have been presented that exemplify the previously mentioned difficulties. In particular, there are conflictive points that have presented themselves paradoxically in relation to what is meant by the expression

"to come to an agreement." [7]

As I understand it, "coming to an agreement" consists of carrying out a series of deliberations that permit us to launch joint initiatives. However, at least in the Andean indigenous communities, this "coming to an agreement" has a prior premise: there is an "us" already constituted—at least in the imaginary—that can launch a determined action, with the result that what is deliberated is related to the manner in which it will be carried out. This is a methodological and cosmovisional question: there can't be action without a subject. Thus, so that its worth the trouble to deliberate about what must be done, it is first necessary to establish who—or who is the "we"—that is going to do it. This is the beginning of a general agreement.

In contrast to this, and in the most traditional form of leftist urban politics, the cart is generally put before the horse. That is, first discussed is the point we want to reach via common action, leaving aside the decisive issue of who, in the plural, will implement it. This is the classic form in which parties and political groups behave: first they enter an incredibly long, procedural, contractual discussion debating the forms by which they will come to an agreement, a discussion which most often consists of and disguises a struggle over rivalries related to who will be the hegemonic subject of the action to be agreed upon. That is, hidden within the procedural complications is the difficulty that a "federation of groups" will be able to come to a decision on a determined action. This happens in a great variety of ways, though in general the implicitly complicated production of an "us" that is not explicit, even temporally, tends toward exhaustive discussions trying to establish definitions on what one has in common with the others, resulting in a "contractual" unification: small distinct groups that confederate to form a equally precisely defined greater entity. This process closes, defines, and identifies. That is, it fixes the action of unification of the distinct groups, alienating and inscribing this unification in reality as something different from the action of each and all involved, as well as opening the door to delegated representation of that totality.

Andean and also Mesoamerican indigenous traditions generally employ a common agreement on action or collective struggle in order to meet a certain need. In this form of doing things, the "us" is presupposed; "what we need is to overcome such and such necessity." [8] Identify the first form of coming to common agreement outlined above as the classic urban mercantile form, which strongly resembles the contractual modes where everyone acts as "one" with "full sovereignty" and through contract "cedes" areas of that sovereignty; that is, one is obligated to comply with certain accords. In contrast to this, the second form of "coming to an agreement," seen in the Andean communities in particular, attempts to sketch this agreement in community form: to the degree that each domestic unit, each community, each ayllu "knows" and builds differently than the others, the "us" required for particular actions aimed at overcoming a common necessity is taken as a given, pending only

the precise definition of the actions to be taken. For this same reason the most difficult part of the work is specifying, understanding, and sharing the "need to be met" and not so much differentiating between those present or specifying limits; the agreement is open and diffuse and at the same time, solid. Under this model of unification, the distinct elements begin from a perspective that assumes their collectivity and the fact that they are, at least intermittently, part of a broader "all." These constitutive elements don't lose their local autonomy by being capable of producing profound relationships between themselves. Under this organisational form, the idea is to produce intermittently the development of autonomous cooperative action that is dense and strong without being rigid. And this, in time, guarantees an expanding possibility of autonomy and strength for everyone.

I believe that these are the issues on the discussion table requiring an exhaustive reflection. The "Other Campaign" to implement "other forms of doing politics" is demanding organizational forms of a new type that are at the same time enriched by the self-determination produced by relationships created through a common existence, as well as by the exercise of autonomy by the indigenous peoples of our continent. In this way, if we limit ourselves to the criteria of the capacity to convoke and a level of group cohesion, it is clear that the principal subject of the "Other Campaign" is the EZLN. However, I understand that what the EZ is suggesting has more to do with the constitution of a broader "us." And that is where the most difficult and urgent question arises: we, the adherents of the Other Campaign, what is it that we want to do? What is the need we propose to meet?

Sevilla-Colchester, December 2005

*The author is a Mexican mathematician and philosopher; she sent this piece especially for Herramienta.

[1] = <http://www.ezln.org.mx/>

[2] = Roux Rhina, La política de los subalternos en Avalos Tenorio (coordinador), Redefinir lo político, UAM-X, México D.F., 2002.

[3] = Rhina Roux points out that the "politics of the subaltern" proposes "the rupture of domination" in such a way that "this politics does not debate a distributive justice with regards to the distribution of things...(but rather takes place) in the redefinition of the links between people." op.cit.

[4] S.I. Marcos, The Impossible Geometry of Power, August 2005, <http://www.ezln.org.mx/>

[5] It is worth the trouble to reflect on the wide-ranging experience of the PRI Mexican State to co-opt/include, subordinate, and denaturalize transformative social energy via the discretionary use of institutions. I won't do this in this piece, but I want to note the importance I confer on this aspect.

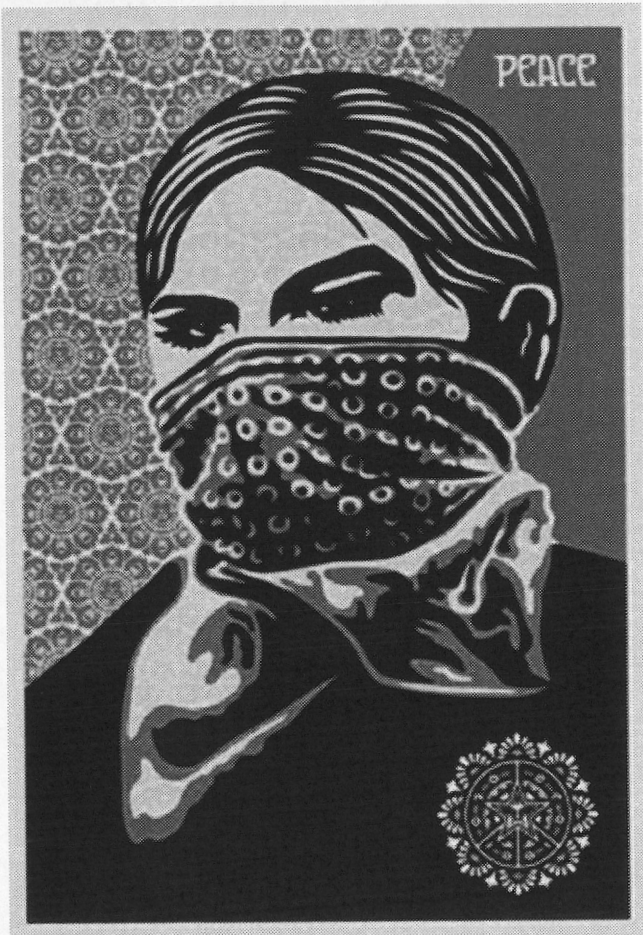
[6] On this issue Carlos Montemayor's analysis on the manner in which the Mexican State instituted "social dissolution" as a crime in the Penal Code, qualifying dissidence as penal punishment. See "Autonomía, principio y antagonismo en la lucha indígena" en, Colectivo Situaciones, Bienvenidos a la Selva, Ediciones Tinta-Limón y UNIA, Buenos Aires, 2005.

7] In relation to "coming to an agreement," there is a long and continuing tradition on the urban partisan left that consists of opposing any "deep" discussion with a series of tremendously complicated procedural issues: who has the right to speak, how use of the word should be regulated, to what point the agreements made are binding, how and to what measure previous agreements can be modified, and a very long etcetera that makes enormously difficult any real discussion of the points which motivated the meeting. It is as if a dense layer of procedural difficulties impedes the discussion of the root topics.

[8] In the gas wars of Bolivia in 2003, for example, many of the documents put out by the CSUT CB that expressed in that moment the practical unification achieved by the Aymara indigenous communities with regard to road-blocking actions, began by saying, "we the men and women of the 19 Pacea provinces," or, "We, the Aymara nation...mobilized for the defense of gas..." etc.

Translation by El Kilombo Intergalactico From Herramienta web site <http://www.herramienta.com.ar/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=339&mode=thread&order=0&thold=0> December 2005

Taken from MASN website <http://www.masn.org.au/content/view/32/38/> November 2006



Message from the
COMITÉ CLANDESTINO REVOLUCIONARIO
INDIGENA COMANDANCIA GENERAL of the
EJERCITO ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACION NA-
CIONAL MEXICO.

30th of October, 2006.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD:

**TO THE OTHER CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO AND THE OTHER SIDE
OF THE RIO BRAVO:**

TO THE ENTIRE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL:

COMRADES:

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

It is now known publicly that yesterday, 29th of October 2006; Vicente Fox's federal forces attacked the people of Oaxaca and its most legitimate representative, the Peoples Popular Assembly of Oaxaca (APPO).

Today, we know that the Federal Troops have assassinated at least 3 people, among them a minor, leaving dozens of wounded including many women from Oaxaca and dozens of detainees were illegally transported to military prisons. All this, in addition to the total of deaths, detainees and missing persons since the beginning of the mobilization demanding that Ulises Ruiz steps down as Oaxaca's governor.

The sole objective of the federal attack is to maintain Ulises Ruiz in power and to destroy the popular grassroots organization of the people of Oaxaca. Oaxaca's people are resisting. No honest person can remain quiet and unmoved while the entire society, of which the majority are indigenous, is assassinated, beaten and imprisoned.

We, Zapatistas, will not be silent; we will mobilize to support our brothers, sisters and comrades in Oaxaca.

The EZLN Sixth Commission has already consulted the Zapatista Command and the following has been decided:

Firstly- During whole day of the 1st of November 2006, the major and minor roads that pass through Zapatista controlled territories in the Southwest of the state of Chiapas will be closed.

Consequently, we ask that one makes the necessary arrangements in order to avoid using these roads on this day.

Secondly- through the Sixth Commission, the EZLN has begun making contact and consulting other political and social organizations, groups, collectives

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and individuals in the Other Campaign, in order to co-ordinate joint solidarity actions across Mexico, leading to a nationwide shut-down on the 20th of November, 2006.

Thirdly- the EZLN calls out to the Other Campaign in Mexico and north of the Rio Bravo, so that this November 1st mobilizations happen where possible; completely, partially, at intervals or symbolically shutting down major roads, streets, toll booths, stations, airports and mainstream media offices.

Fourthly- The central message that the Zapatistas send and will continue sending, is that the people of Oaxaca are not alone: They are not alone!

Ulises Ruiz out of Oaxaca!

Immediate withdrawal of the occupying Federal Forces from Oaxaca!

Immediate and unconditional freedom for all detainees!

Cancel all arrest warrants!

Punish the murderers!

Justice!

Freedom!

Democracy!

From the north of Mexico.

For the Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

For the EZLN Comisión Sexta.

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
Mexico, October, 2006.

of colour and excitement. The main street of Santiago, Alameda Avenue - a street that ousted Socialist president Salvador Allende himself once declared as a place for future protest and dissent - was overtaken with the banners, posters and chants of a large scale protest. The protest, which I had seen posters for around town, was dubbed Marcha Mapuche (Mapuche March) and was in support of the indigenous Mapuche people who populate the south of Chile. The Mapuche nation were the first people to populate the bottom half of Chile and Argentina, and was formed from many different and independent groups. When the Spanish invaded in 1541, the Mapuches, who had already successfully fought off the Incas, were forced into a century of fighting before officially being recognized as a nation in the Treaty of Quillín in 1641.

Taking it to the streets Chilean style meant a procession of drums, horns, and the elaborate decorative costumes of the Mapuche men and women, all dancing to the traditional indigenous rhythms. Colourful streamers hung from crowned hats, hats with feathers, ti-pi shaped hats. There were flags representing the Mapuches and other groups in solidarity, such as the anarchists, and the university student organizations. On the pavement was a long line of police calmly escorting the procession. Some even took photos with their phones, but for the most part though the police stayed organized and in single file. The relative casualness of the police was at complete odds to their appearance - for those who haven't seen what the Chilean police force look like then the best way to describe their fashion sense is military chic. That is to say that they don't wear those tame civilian style blue uniforms that police in other countries might wear, no, they're very much a product of the Pinochet era, and they look fucking scary. They don't have cop cars here like in other countries (or at least only a proportionately small percentage do): the police "cars" here are giant green windowless military vans, with huge tank-like water guns, and the only thing I can compare them to as far as what I've seen personally was the Forbes conference in Sydney last September when the New South Wales government unveiled its new riot squad.

Although everytime I've seen the green uniformed Chilean police they've been surprisingly chilled out for what you'd expect from cops (especially given their appearance), that is not always the case. A good example is the Penguin's revolution (i.e. the protest by high school students which brought the country and this city to its knees), in which they proved they can be as irrational and violent as any police force. Even President Michelle Bachelet came out and denounced their behaviour, which included water cannoning and attacking high school girls as young as 13. As I said though, this protest was without incident and ran smoothly.

"Mapuche Liberate" was the rallying cry amongst the protesters in the march on this day, Monday October 9th 2006, which saw a crowd of 5000 people come to commemorate the anniversary of the Spanish invasion of Mapuche. The many banners displayed messages like "presos políticos ilibertad" (Liberate political prisoners) and "Alos Pueblos Originarios"

MARCHA MAPUCHE: OCT 9 2006, SANTIAGO, CHILE

I was sitting on a mattress writing into my journal one morning when I heard what appeared to be the sound of a crowd cheering. My first thought, being the fanatical football country that Chile is, was that the neighbours from somewhere within the building where watching a game of football. On a Monday morning? I reclined back to my mattress and there it was again, another big cheer. This second one convinced me that it was far too loud to simply be coming from another apartment. Also I'd heard that sound before, over a week or so earlier when I'd been invited by a housemate to go attend a demonstration for gay and lesbian rights.

Once I recognized that sound, I immediately reached for my bag. Down the steps, through the courtyard and out onto the street I ran into the middle of an explosion

(The Original Peoples).

The Mapuche's resourcefulness as people was demonstrated in their ability to fend off their would be Spanish conquerors, despite no nationwide central network for a century, until the Spanish were forced to recognise them as a state in 1641. Their agriculturally based economy continued with much open trading between the Mapuches and the Spanish until the late 19th Century, when Chile and Argentina became independent. By the end of the 1880s, with improvements in weaponry and the mass slaughter of the peoples of the South by both militaries, the decades long struggle for the recognition of the Mapuche nation started, and continues to this present day. In recent times, the so-called "democratic government" elected to enforce anti-terrorist laws from the Pinochet era against Mapuche activists in the south. Practically ignored by the Chilean media, the Mapuche struggle in recent times has seen military trials of chiefs, found not guilty and retried up to three times until convicted. At a recent Senate Commission into the use of the laws, Senator Jose Antonio Gomez was quoted as saying that "the anti-terrorist law should never have been applied, common law should have been used instead."

There are many groups around the world in solidarity with the Mapuche struggle, including the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) and the Mapuche International Link. On the streets, however, all this struggle and solidarity meant fiesta, as the warm sun beat down on the long line of protesters that blocked the main five lane avenue of the city. At one point the march halted, and the crowd parted to make a rectangular court for an impromptu hockey game. A great cheer went up every time the players formed a circle to bang their sticks together in solidarity.

Things came to a colourful and noisy climax in a small nearby park where a stage had been set up for various speakers (none of which I could understand with my almost nonexistent Spanish) while the loud drums and horns of the Mapuches continued. What was particularly inspiring was the way the protest was almost symbolically handed over to the youth as the live music on the stage began. Each band was young, reasonably uncommercial by western standards, and heavily political. And what's more astounding in context of my experience of Australian protests was that the older generations of indigenous activists not only stuck around, but they even danced and played their horns over the music. I hope that one day I will go to another protest to see 50 year old women dancing to the music of a political metal band dressed in black with faces concealed terrorist/guerilla style. At one point, one of the four singers in the group, with chains around his arms, body wrapped almost exclusively in black, save for a red bandana, began reading out what sounded like a heavy political manifesto, much to the delight of the protesters. This was followed by an even more astounding spectacle of a very young hip hop group (couldn't have been older than 16) backed by a wall of even younger looking kids holding a banner with their faces covered. It made for an imposing presence.

This of course wouldn't have been a Chilean protest without the opportunistic collection of mobile street vendors selling icecreams, bottled water and soft drinks to the dehydrated masses. There were numerous food, arts and craft stalls run by the Mapuche women, as well as various blankets laid out on the grass selling anarchist punk cds, political literature, distributing flyers and propaganda, and etc. Music from the kids and speeches by the elders continuing well into the afternoon. The political awareness of the youth of Chile is something to behold. Only a few months ago, high school kids all across the city kicked out their principals and took over their schools. Mass protests of kids no older than 18, who in every way are like teenagers everywhere: they shop, they buy, they watch the same crap American television and listen to much of the same music. Yet somehow a whole nation of kids with no real central organization demanded of the government a better and more affordable education. And when that same government scoffed at their demands, they shut the place down - shops closed, buses stopped running; not for hours or days but for weeks!

And it occurred to me while watching the music and people dancing and drinking, etc., that a key ingredient of bringing alive these large gatherings of people is the youth, with that fire in their bellies and the love and optimism in their hearts. I was reminded of that horribly uninspiring Industrial Relations protest in Melbourne which, despite the giant mass of bodies, seemed to be more about politics and sloganeering (as in the case of unions) than actual change. I tried to imagine the unions letting the youth express themselves, whether it be through hip hop, punk, reggae etc. I tried to imagine the protest being not just a march but an actual threat- 'we get our demands met or we shut this city down right now'.

But all I could see was Australian rent-a-musicians with acoustic guitars, singing about the lucky country between grand final gigs. No real respect or acknowledgment of the future torch bearers of the country. This generation of Chilean youths, however, are the future of this country and they're quite prepared to put their money where their mouths are.

They are the future,
and we are the future.
What are we waiting for?

Benyam Seifu

For more reference and inspiration, I recommend readers to get on the net and do a search at YouTube.com for Marcha Mapuche Octubre for this particular protest, or Protesta estudiantes chile 2006.

WEST PAPUA: GLOBAL INJUSTICE ON OUR DOORSTEP

West Papua has enjoyed much media attention in Australia since the arrival of 43 asylum seekers in an outrigger canoe at Mapoon, in January this year. The arrival sparked foaming reaction from the Indonesian Government. Formal requests were made to Canberra with the hope to interview the asylum seekers while they were processed on Christmas Island. The Indonesian authorities interviewed family members of the asylum seekers and the cousin of one was shot dead in a marketplace. The mother of a young girl was forced to flee following her refusal to comply with Indonesian claims that the girl had been kidnapped. She now lives in exile in neighboring Papua New Guinea. There have already been two documented attempts to have her returned to West Papua by force: a traumatic ordeal for mother, father and daughter. Her options for asylum in Australia are next to nil! The Temporary Protection Visas (TPVs) granted to the West Papuans do not allow them to sponsor family members to come to Australia. Theirs is a life of uncertainty, with 3 years in Australia: studying, working and continuing their struggle. The thought of being returned to West Papua before it is "free" is unfathomable.

Papua Merdeka: Free West Papua

The literal meaning of merdeka in the Indonesian language is freedom, independence and/or liberation. Merdeka was the rallying cry of the Indonesian struggle against Dutch colonialism. Merdeka has a number of meanings for the indigenous Papuans. "Transcending a nationalist aspiration in the modern sense, merdeka is a far more profound vision of worldly emancipation: from injustice, violence, subjugation, destitution, racial discrimination" (1). Merdeka has been used as an ecological term by exiled West Papuan leader Viktor Kaisiepo who described merdeka as interdependence rather than independence. The desire for self-sufficient food production, water supply and systems of governance that incorporate indigenous modes of authority does not necessarily require independence from Indonesia (2). However, the Indonesian Government's interpretation of merdeka as a separatist threat and the continued repression and violence against indigenous Papuans is fuelling the flames of national liberation.

'No Choice'

The Indonesian occupation of West Papua began at the end of 1961. On December 1st 1961, the Bintang Kejora (Morning Star) was raised and the New Guinea Council inducted in parliament. On December 19th 1961 Indonesian President Sukarno declared TRIKORA (KOTI): (People's Triple Command for the Liberation of West Irian); calling for a total mobilisation to destroy the Dutch-promoted Papuan state; to fly the Indonesian flag over West Irian and to prepare for war over West Irian (3). The invasion ensued with Major General (future dictator) Suharto commanding it. Militarily the Indonesians could not defeat the Dutch but geopolitically it was another story. The request of weapons and money from the Soviet Union to defeat Dutch colonialism surprised the United States, who used the United Nations to negotiate the signing of an agreement on August 15th 1962. The New York Agreement provided the transfer of West Papua to the UN Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) from October

1 1962 to May 1 1963, followed by Indonesian administration until a UN-supervised 'act of self-determination' was carried out before the end of 1969 (4). The signing of the agreement was a green light for the Indonesian military. The aerial bombing and machine-gunning of villages, arrest, torture and mass killings were routine under the New Order regime of Suharto. In 1969, the Act of Free Choice was implemented by the Indonesian military under the eyes of the UN. The 'one person, one vote' system had been replaced with an alternative system called Musyawarah. It was described as 'a process of consultation towards consensus to secure people's approval'. The Indonesians argued that there was no mention of a plebiscite or referendum and it was appropriate to 'the specific socio-cultural conditions of the people' (5). In August 1969, 1022 West Papuans (less than 0.1% of the population) were handpicked without the scrutiny of the UN, international press or independent observers and voted to integrate into the Indonesian state. The lives of almost a million people were plunged into jeopardy while the UN washed its hands of it. Australia looked away and even acted for the Indonesians by arresting two West Papuan leaders, Clemens Runaweri and the late Willem Zonggonau in May 1969. They were attempting to fly from Port Moresby to New York to raise the alarm at the UN headquarters about the mass murder occurring in West Papua. They were intercepted and detained at Manus Island.

The dilution of the West Papuan population through the World Bank funded transmigrasi project continued for more than three decades. More than one million Indonesian people were voluntarily and involuntarily shipped from more populated regions of Indonesia to West Papua. The transmigrants were moved to settlements to work the land and assert cultural control of West Papua. Transmigration has had a drastic effect on the local population who barely make up 50% of the population. The transmigration has also been coupled with the establishment of militias. The arming and training of Islamic militants and also Merah Putih militias (red and white, colours of the Indonesian flag) by the Indonesian Special Forces, Kopassus and TNI has been reportedly occurring in West Papua. This comes as no surprise as militia leaders who were involved in the genocide of the East Timorese are popping up in West Papua.

The killings and political repression of indigenous Papuans continues today.

The Struggle Continues...

The Papuan's refer to the Act of Free Choice as the 'Act of No Choice'. It is this Act of No Choice that our political and business leaders refer to as being the legitimisation of Indonesian control of the province. When challenged that the Act of Free Choice was a sham, they continue along the line that the current Indonesian President, Susilo Bambang Yudhono (SBY), and Special Autonomy Law is the best bet for the Papuan people.

The Special Autonomy Law was introduced as concession to

the West Papuan people in 2000. It was designed to rebuild trust between Papuans and Jakarta. The province Irian Jaya was renamed Papua. The Morning Star was to be allowed to fly. Promises were made to return more royalties from natural resource extraction to the Papuan people. The establishment of Papuan People's Assembly was proposed and a search for political rather than military solutions to Papua's problems was suggested. None of this occurred. While the West proclaims SBY is the only hope for Papuans, his personal history would suggest otherwise. A General in East Timor and Defence Minister under Sukarnoputri, he is not only powerless to end the corruption of the system but part of it. The continued denial of justice in West Papua is as much about money as it is politics.

Freeport

The world's largest gold mine and third largest copper mine is owned by US-company Freeport McMoran (90%) and the Indonesian Government (10%) operating under the name PT Freeport. The deal was signed in 1967, with former US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger an active board member. The mine is reportedly worth \$54 - \$80 billion (6), with Anglo-Australian mining giant, Rio Tinto Ltd owning a 40% share of its expanded output (7). It is currently being investigated for its links to the Suharto regime and its continued 'security' payments to officers and generals in the TNI. The aggrieved population of the Amungme and Komoro tribes continue to suffer the effects from the mine and the tailings every day. There are no tailings dams, the tailings are held by levies several kilometres away. Acid is leaching into the groundwater and ending up in natural springs many kilometres away in the in the World Heritage listed Lorentz National Park. The mine is audited by the Department of Mines and does not have to report to the Department of Environment. With the TNI protecting the mine and independent environmental groups denied access, Freeport is considered 'untouchable'.

In March this year, locals blocked a road after being forced off the tailings dump by TNI soldiers. The locals were fossicking through the waste piles for gold and copper pieces that they could sell to feed their families. The TNI charges local people money for fossicking rights, these locals refused to pay. The road was blocked and the mine closed for three days. The TNI could have ended the protest in a day, however while protestors blocked the only road into the mine, it has been alleged that the TNI was busy stealing the high-grade refined gold. The greed of the TNI has also been linked to killings of American teachers in Papua and other murders in the hope of extorting more money from the company.

Freeport is a contentious point for many Indonesians who believe the mine is taking too much, not giving enough back and is destroying the local environment.

Illegal Logging

The illegal logging of West Papua's forests is a threat to some of the most biodiverse regions in the world. The discovery of a 'lost world' in North-Western West Papua in early 2006, demonstrated the existence of species previously unknown with no evidence of human impact. This is all at risk. The involvement of the TNI in illegal logging and export is well documented (8). Adding to this threat is China's \$1 billion order for 800 000 cubic metres of merbau to build sports facilities for the 2008 Olympic games (9). The challenge to Papuan and Indonesian environmentalists is the direct confrontation with the TNI, which is required to protect these areas from decimation. The empowerment of these activists to confront the military will require global support in condemning the actions of the TNI.



FREE WEST PAPUA



Australian Defence Force and the Indonesian Military

The Indonesian military operates as a law unto itself because it receives only 30% of its income from the Indonesian Government and the rest is made up from commercial activities within Indonesia and abroad. The financial independence of the military means that it is not under civilian control, this allows it to carry out operations in its own interest. The Australian Defence Force has recently resumed ties with the Indonesian military. The 'war on terror' has justified counter-terrorism training to Kopassus and TNI officers. Although both of these organisations were involved in the state-sponsored genocide of the East Timorese and suspected of having some involvement in the second blast that killed most of the 202 victims of the October 12 2002 Bali bombing. The military links are said to be in 'the national interest'. The national interest is based solely on economic and security cooperation between Jakarta and Canberra. The most recent being the Security Treaty between Australia and Indonesia, which seeks to silence Australia's voice on West Papua by inferring that 'Australia cannot interfere with Indonesia's domestic affairs, including Papua.' The full content of the treaty is not known as all discussions are held behind closed doors and a veil of secrecy.

Refugees and beyond

The 43 West Papuan refugees, most of who live in Melbourne, are only a tiny fraction of the 12 000 or more West Papuans living in Papua New Guinea. The flow of refugees across the border began in the early sixties and continues today. The most recent influx was up to 600 West Papuan students who participated in a demonstration at Cendrawasih University in Abepura, March 16 2006. The demonstration resulted in the deaths of 5 security personnel and the countless arrests and killings of students, which continue today.

The protest was in solidarity with the Freeport closure and other protests in Jakarta. The violence was initiated by agent provocateurs who fired at the police from the crowd. The crowd reacted. The University was closed and students fled. Many of the refugees are still unaccounted for with up to 200 presumed dead. I have heard personal accounts of students being approached in the streets of Jayapura and being administered an injection in their neck, which stops them from resisting their abduction and interrogation. Students have emerged day's later, brain damaged and tortured.

What to do:

Oppose the Joint Security Treaty between Indonesia and Australia

Call for the decolonisation of West Papua and a true act of self-determination

Call for open access to international journalists and international NGOs

Get involved in the local campaign

Get informed

Check websites:

www.freewestpapua.com

www.freewestpapua.com.au

www.freewestpapua.org (UK)

Read:

Reluctant Indonesians: Australia, Indonesia and the future of West Papua

By Clinton Fernandez - Scribe Short Books Melbourne
info@scribepub.com.au

Come check out the office:

Australia West Papua Association (AWPA) – Melbourne
 Kindness House
 17/288 Brunswick St
 Fitzroy 3065

Ph. +61 3 9445 0311 – leave a message

Meetings @ the office Wednesdays 6pm

Much reading material to help you get informed on the issues

Get involved:

Write letters to the press and politicians

Work with the refugees – English language training

- Hang out, play soccer, talk etc

- Assist with gigs or concerts or rallies

Take on a project – come to a meeting and see what's happening

Go and see it for yourself – can't wait for the UN to send observers in

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(1)Brigham Golden cited in Reluctant Indonesians Fernandez (2006) p110

(2)Ibid

(3)UNIPA - ANU - UNCEN PapuaWeb Project, 2002-2004.

(4)New York Agreement cited in Fernandez (2006) p55

(5)Government of Indonesia cited in Fernandez (2006) p58

(6)Leith cited in Fernandez (2006) p 83

(7)Indonesian Forum for Environment 2006 cited in Fernandez (2006) p82

(8)The Last Frontier, Illegal Logging in Papua and China's Massive Timber Theft 2005, www.eia-international.org/files/reports/93-1.pdf

(9)Perlez cited in Fernandez (2006) p94

Nicaragua is a country of 5.2 million people. 27% of the population is undernourished and 20.2 % of children are stunting (FAOa). Nicaragua has a major food insecurity problem. Poverty and inequality are the key factors in this food insecurity. Nicaragua's current political situation and interaction with the world economy, and particularly the international financial institutions (IFI's), are the key causes and perpetrators of Nicaragua's food insecurity problems.

Van Haefen (cited in Sahley et al.2005) suggests that in Nicaragua, income distribution is a much more important factor in food insecurity than is overall national food availability. Sahley et al. (2005) note that lack of access to food is caused by a highly inequitable income distribution as well as a highly skewed distribution of land in Nicaragua. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2001) figures indicate that the richest 20% of the population consume 49.3% of available food, whilst the poorest 20% consume only 5.6%. Sahley et al. (2005) also highlight the highly inequitable land distribution. Sixty per cent of the land is owned by 11% of the landowners, 44% of landowners own only 4% of the land whilst 38% of rural families are landless. If Nicaragua keeps to the same levels of inequality as in the 1990's, to achieve the millennium development goal of halving extreme poverty it would need to double it's GDP per capita.

However, it would need to grow by only 50% if inequality, measured by the Gini coefficient, was lessened by just 3.6% (Contrares et al. 2002).

Poverty contributes to food insecurity through limiting access to food, health, education and clean water, all of which are contributors to food insecurity. 30% of households in Nicaragua are simply without enough income to purchase sufficient food (Sahley et al. 2005). This correlates approximately with the 27% of the population who are undernourished (FAOa). World Bank figures also indicate a strong correlation between extreme poverty and chronic malnutrition, which are experienced by 19.4% and 19.9% of the population respectively (cited in Bradshaw and Linneker 2001)).

The effects of structural adjustments imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the massive amount of debt owed to international financial institutions, has had a deleterious effect on poverty and thus food insecurity in Nicaragua (Willman-Navarro 2004; Bradshaw and Linneker 2001; Barham et al.2005; Glomsrod et al.; Freije and Rivas 2002; Enriquez 2000). The IMF and Nicaraguan government's focus on economic growth at the expense of all else is not a proper and effective path for poverty and food insecurity reduction.

The economy of Nicaragua has been undergoing a transition since the end of the civil war in 1990. The post Sandinista government imposed a deliberate policy of 'social sacrifice' of the poor and the vulnerable (Quesada 1998). Freije and Rivas (2002) note the devastating effects of the transition from a

largely state run, state directed economy to an almost completely privatised economy.

Post-Sandinista privatisation has been a major factor in the increasing inequality in Nicaragua.

The IMF policies are essentially directed towards making Nicaragua a market-led, growth focused economy. In 2004 Nicaragua was the most heavily indebted country per capita in the world. Although much of Nicaragua's external debt has now been forgiven because of its strict adherence to the structural adjustment programs of the IMF, Nicaragua suffers from a crippling amount of internal debt which, thanks to the IMF policies of financial deregulation and the operation of Open Market Operations (OMOs), has ballooned. Willman-Navarro (2004) argues that this internal debt is a large obstacle to tackling poverty and thus tackling food insecurity.

In 2003, thirty-seven per cent of government spending - which could have been spent on programs to reduce poverty - was still servicing debt payments. Nicaragua has a very regressive tax structure with 80% of taxes being indirect taxes. Thus the increased tax burden needed to finance the public debt falls most heavily on the poor (Willman-Navarro 2004).

The massive amounts of public debt means that Nicaragua has to rely on external finances for poverty reduction programs, and these often take the form of loans, which incur even more debt. OMOs and the emphasis on an agro-export (cash-cropping) led economy have made Nicaraguans extremely vulnerable to falls in commodity prices, as was seen with the coffee price crisis (Willman-Navarro 2004). Christoplos (2001) notes that coffee is the most important crop for the Nicaraguan economy, accounting for approximately 24% of Nicaraguan export earnings and providing between 20 and 40% of the rural labour force with employment. With the substantial deflation in coffee prices (since 1998) 35,000 permanent jobs and 100,000 seasonal jobs were lost. Kruger et al. (2004) note the devastating effects on food security this dependence on cash cropping can cause. Over 43% of the income shock in coffee labour households is translated into food consumption decreases.

Willman-Navarro (2004) calls for proper tax reform in order to make the rich pay their fair share and reduce the burden on the poor, and for government intervention to direct credit to the poor rather than leaving it up to the market. Barham et al. (2005) concur, and highlight the failure of open credit markets to perform. They argue that government intervention in credit for the poor is key to equity and increased food security.

Economic reforms, like increasing sales tax have the effect of increasing rural poverty. Other neo-liberal reforms aimed at economic growth such as a flexible urban wage would rapidly increase deforestation as well as increasing food prices, which would greatly increase food insecurity amongst the poor (Glomsrod et al. 2001).

Enriquez (2000) concludes that austerity measures introduced as a result of the IMF's structural adjustment programs, such as cutbacks of state-sponsored credit, technical assistance, agrarian reform and social services, have greatly reduced access to these services and consequently increased rural poverty. Free trade policies, currency devaluations and reduced access to agricultural inputs have enlarged the proportion of farmers undertaking subsistence farming only.

Enriquez (2000) goes on to say that structural adjustment policies have led to more inequality and have led to a majority of farmers having to reduce their production and consumption, thus causing greater food insecurity. Policies aimed at economic growth are based on the assumption of a 'trickle down' effect that will never come.

Nicaragua has a major food security problem. Key to this insecurity is poverty. Poverty post-1990 has been aggravated by policies of privatisation and the free market. Post-Sandinista government policy and the international financial institutions' interference in macro economic policy has led to increasing inequality and a lack of real equitable development to reduce poverty and food insecurity in Nicaragua.

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Max Elliot Kaiser



CONTINENTAL DRIFT OR, THE OTHER SIDE OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION

This seminar is called "Continental Drift," and it's about the different sorts of regional blocs that are forming in the world and in our heads. Now, the first questions to ask could be these:

Why even talk about regional blocs or continental integration? Isn't that just about the European Union, and its attempt to regain some lost power? Why not pursue the bottom-up theory of the multitude that was launched with the book *Empire*? Or conversely, why not admit that the real force of globalization is American imperialism? How can the abstractions of geopolitics have any meaning for the ordinary individual? And what does "continental drift" have to do with art, or with activism?

What I mainly expect is not to answer these questions, but to make them sharper and deeper and more urgent. In the first place, far from being an exclusively European problem, "continental integration," or rather, *intégration continentale*, is a phrase that seems primarily to be used in Quebec, and in Canada. I first encountered it during the protests surrounding the failed Free Trade Area of the Americas summit, in Quebec City in May of 2001. For Canadians, continental integration is a process that goes back to the Free Trade Treaty signed with the United States in 1987, and then ratified by the parliament in 1988 despite massive resistance by what seems to have been a majority of the people, who were afraid of losing not only their political sovereignty but above all, what is distinctive about their society, particularly their social programs.

In the Americas today, the phrase "continental integration" can refer to NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement that links Canada, the US and Mexico; but also CAFTA, the recently passed Central American Free Trade agreement that will link the US, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic; and then again AFTA, the Andean Free Trade Area, under negotiation between the US, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and possibly Bolivia; and finally, the US-Chile Free Trade Agreement — with the last three being the Bush administration's bilateral replacements for the stalled FTAA, known as "ALCA" in Spanish, which was supposed to extend NAFTA as a universal capitalist compact reaching all the way to Tierra del Fuego.

Now, these free trade agreements, which aim at creating not only a unified American market, but also a unified American production bloc, directed and even controlled by US capital and by the US political elite, are obviously very different from the European Union, even though there is clearly a process of economic integration at work there as well. In the case of the EU, the abolition of tariffs and the rewriting of national regulations has been accompanied by a political debate that has intensified considerably in recent years; there is a European Parliament and a European Court of Justice; internal borders have largely been abolished for citizens as well as goods; and in stark contrast to the North American situation, one cannot identify any single state that maintains predominant control over the others.

At the same time, it can be seriously argued that

institutional architecture of the enlarged EU tends to create is precisely an integrated production bloc, a vast free-trade area whose parliament and court will only be able to regulate it economically, according to the neoliberal model, without any room for social justice, ecological transformation, or any deep debate about values. And these are the arguments that recently led a decisive percentage of voters on the left, in France, to reject the recent referendum on the Treaty for a European Constitution.

So, continental integration seems at least to be a Euro-American phenomenon. But what does it imply? Does it represent a consolidation of transnational corporate capitalism, an institutionalization of capitalist exploitation at a larger scale, as the example of the American hemisphere suggests? Or does it also represent a defensive reaction against those very same processes?

The second possibility is suggested by the most democratic aspects of the European example, but also by the attempts to relaunch the MERCOSUR agreements in the southern cone of Latin America, and even more, by the efforts of Venezuela to establish regional partnerships under the umbrella program of ALBA: the "Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas," or simply, "dawn," which is the literal meaning of the word.

Concretely, what ALBA means today is partnerships around the production and distribution of energy, with Petrosur, an agreement between the state oil companies of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Venezuela, and Petrocaribe, a 13-nation energy alliance in the Caribbean; and alliances in heavy industries like shipbuilding, with a major contract for Argentina to supply Venezuela with four oil tankers; and most interestingly for all of us, the establishment of the continental TV station Telesur, conceived as a Latin American rival to CNN (the participating nations so far are Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba, with some technical cooperation from Brazil).

The idea that regionalization could represent a defensive process undertaken against the dangers generated by neoliberal globalization is reinforced by the negotiations that have arisen in Asia over different possible forms of monetary cooperation and regulation, in the wake of the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98, and in the framework of ASEAN+3, that is to say, the Association of South-East Asian Nations plus China, Japan and Korea. Those negotiations arise within the informal, but very powerful regional bloc that has slowly been constituted by the productive relations between Japan, Southeast Asia, and China.

Essentially, what has happened over the last thirty years is a meeting between Japanese capital, high technology and organizational methods, on the one hand, and the ability of the Chinese diaspora to act as local mediators for a network of industrial facilities scattered throughout the region, on the other; and this was followed by a vast augmentation of productive capacity occurred as China slowly opened up to the capital and the expertise of this network. The resulting East Asian regional network

great question mark, the place where all the world's manufacturing work is increasingly done, the place that seems to hold the key to the world's future.

But what about the huge region called India, the sub-continent with a billion people, where the conditions of life are changing at such incredible speed? What about the Russian Confederation, which seems to be falling into an authoritarian nightmare, just as fast as India is emerging onto the world scene? What about the Middle East, where the call to Salafi jihad represents an attempt to constitute a new kind of region, by means of a new kind of global civil war? How to make any sense out of all the transformations in the world over the last fifteen years?

I suspect that the slightest reflection on contemporary geopolitics will be enough to make the arguments of the book *Empire* seem insufficient. But a lot of people took those arguments very seriously just a few years ago, and personally, I am still part of a journal called *Multitudes*. Why was *Empire* so compelling around the year 2000? And why do some of its hypotheses appear so out of date today?

Empire was probably the most productive intervention in the debate around the antiglobalization movement, for at least three reasons. First, because it defamiliarized the very idea of globalization, making it appear as a deeply ambiguous process, with an emancipatory aspect that could be made immediately concrete. It did this by considering the world market as a "smooth space" in Deleuze and Guattari's sense, where borders and limits were not pre-established, where power could only be constituted through the extension of networks of immanent social relations that were always open, reversible, malleable by the will and desire of the participants, and never overcoded or dictated in advance by transcendent principles. What's more, in a surprising or even astonishing move, it identified this "constituent power" of globalization with a potentially unlimited extension of the freedoms granted by the US constitution; and in this way it claimed the definitive victory of Woodrow Wilson's internationalism over the colonial adventurism of a president like Teddy Roosevelt — which was another way of claiming the obsolescence of the entire notion and reality of imperialism.

Second, *Empire* identified the emancipatory struggle of the producers as the motive force behind the creation of the world market, and in this way it resurrected and transformed Marx's notion of the proletariat as the actor of world history. It stressed the transition to a post-industrial or post-Fordist economy, the "cultural-informational economy," and it proposed the theory of intellectual and affective work, or what was called "immaterial labor," as the new, hegemonic figure of a concrete productive force that capable of managing its own cooperative relations. The self-organizing capacities of living labor at this stage of development meant it could no longer be kept outside the sphere of decision-making by coercive or disciplinary procedures, but instead could only be channeled or controlled by the maintenance of conceptual categories, figures of identity, hierarchies

of value and units of measure — essentially, what Deleuze and Guattari called "capture devices," which are ontologically secondary to the primary force of so-called biopolitical production, or the production of life itself and of all its contexts, all its cultural, technological and organizational frameworks. Imperial sovereignty was conceived as the unceasing effort to maintain control over those frameworks, in particular by including all the subgroups, differentiating between them, and managing the resulting conflict.

Finally, in response to Imperial sovereignty, the book addressed the "multitude" as the virtual political subject of the wide-open potential represented by the self-organizing capacities of immaterial labor. It invited people to seize or "reappropriate" the productive energies that they were already putting into operation through their salaried or freelance cooperation, and it asserted that the self-organizing multitude should be capable of directly producing the immanent forms of exchange, of governing its own production, and in this way superseding the sterile and divisive forms of coordination that structure the world market. This was the fantastic promise of *Empire*. What's more, it seemed possible to realize that promise. As Hardt and Negri wrote on the last page of the book: "Certainly, there must be a moment when reappropriation and self-organization reach a threshold and configure a real event. This is when the political is really affirmed — when the genesis is complete and self-valorization, the cooperative convergence of subjects, and the proletarian management of production become a constituent power.... The only event that we are still awaiting is the construction, or rather the insurgence, of a powerful organization." When the book came out in the year 2000, the uprising against the WTO had just happened in Seattle — and the idea of networked self-organization seemed to have been embodied with a vengeance, or even better, with a real proactive power for change.

Now, must we really give up such a fabulously ambitious theory? Or more interestingly, what are the basic weaknesses in the conceptual structure of this book, the ones that would have to be overcome in order to pursue whatever useful avenues of thought and practice that it initially helped stimulate?

In my opinion, there are at least two, and these are the things that maybe we should pay the most attention to. The first weakness of the book is the insistence that all contemporary forms of work tend toward the figure of self-coordinating immaterial labor. I think that description applies, quite precisely, to a growing percentage of people in the so-called tertiary or service sectors of the developed economies, and for those people, for us, the description in and of itself is emancipating. It helps an individual to identify the possibilities of autonomy, and to develop them through cooperation with others. But at the same time, the description of immaterial labor as hegemonic, as potentially the only significant form of productive activity, can encourage a continuing ignorance about the global division of labor, and therefore about the precise conditions under which people work and reproduce

themselves, as well as the ways in which they conceive their subordination and their possible agency, or their desires for change. And that ignorance is a major loss, because it eliminates the chance to find out about all the things that separate people within the very element that brings them together, i.e. the world market.

What's needed is a more detailed, qualitative understanding of the global division of labor, and of the cultural divisions that accompany it. Otherwise it is impossible to use the analytic schemas of Empire for any effective political construction that goes beyond the Western or Westernized middle classes that emerged from the mass-education institutions of the postwar welfare state. For instance, if we speak only about that level of the world economy which is effectively semiotic, or which is articulated around the production and the exchange of images and signs, there is the question of translation: What kinds of immaterial production get translated, into which languages? A very interesting guy named Jon Solomon, who has published in the journal *Multitudes*, proposes that the multitude could only come into being as such if a "science of foreigners" arose to replace the existing disciplines of the social sciences — and particularly the notion of "area studies" that has been used to extend those disciplines to the global scale. The goal of this "science of foreigners" would be to dissolve the existing one-way regime of translation, which according to Solomon entails the writing and publication of primary work in a few dominant Western languages and primarily in English, with subsequent translation towards other languages, and never any translation from those languages into the dominant ones. In other words, in order to break up the projective apparatus constituted by area studies it would be necessary to institute an ethics of translation that would both demand and permit a recognition and active exchange of the cultural differences that are carried in language. Now that, I think, is an important remark, which picks up certain things that were already said by Gayatri Spivak and probably many others, and which could have served to create a dialogue between some of the excellent research that has been done in the vein of post-colonial studies and the more recent debates about the economic and geopolitical conditions of networked globalization.

Unfortunately, though, that hasn't happened to any significant degree that I am aware of, and it probably won't ever happen through the vector of Empire, due to another weakness of the book.

This second weakness stems more or less directly from the first. It has to do with the interpretation of constituent power, and of the US constitution, as the very foundation of the most recent expansion of the capitalist world-economy since the early 1980s. The US Constitution serves, in Negri and Hardt's view, as a "basis of consensus" that activates a "constitutive network of powers and counterpowers" in "a process of dynamic and expansive self-regulation." (pp. 162, 166) What this interpretation does is to recognize the United States as playing the leading role in the world economy, but at the same time, to assign immaterial labor the leading role within

the framework of a globalized US constitutionalism. This allows Hardt and Negri to claim that wherever the smooth space of imperial capitalism expands, it brings the constitutive crisis of its inherently inadequate institutions — that is to say, its institutions of value, of measure, its capture devices. As though constituent power, the Constitution, democracy itself, implied a necessary and continuous crisis of capitalism.

Now, in a way, that was a brilliant gesture of encouragement, since it aimed to push the entire Euro-American service-worker class, including the organic intellectuals or so-called symbolic analysts, towards the kind of extremely legitimate and globalizing radicalism that you can very clearly see in operation among the interventionist NGOs and the free software movement, not to mention the more anarchist counter-globalization forces like the Peoples Global Action and so on.

But the price for that brilliant gesture was a certain unreality, which consists in almost completely ignoring the financial dominant that characterizes this last round of global expansionism. Negri and Hardt don't really give a specific definition of finance capitalism. But that meant almost completely ignoring the predatory nature of finance-led development, downplaying the extent of the resulting inequalities, and skirting around the ugly questions about the role that the military-industrial complex plays in shoring up and actively defending the whole financial expansion, including the growth of the service sectors. In other words, it means ignoring the whole constellation of conditions whereby the United States, in particular, has been able to recover from the crisis of the postwar industrial economy, and discover new ways to concentrate the surplus-values of the world economy.

Worse yet, from my point of view, it means ignoring or downplaying the extremely powerful set of control techniques that operate on a psychic and subjective level to ensure that society's "process of dynamic and expansive self-regulation" remains ultimately coordinated by the logic of money, and of finance, which is the ultimate capture device.

It was possible to make this equation of constituent power and the US Constitution during an age of rapid and seemingly uncontrolled or uncontrollable expansion, when the heightened circulation of fictional capital was giving semiotic workers a lot of leeway in their fantasies, when Clintonian multilateralism was renewing the Wilsonian dream of a fraternity of nations, and when the United States was even talking about paying its dues to the United Nations that it had created as a diplomatic instrument fifty years before.

Still, it was a risky tactic, and now it has become definitively untenable. Just as it is necessary to understand the global division of labor in the world economy, so it's necessary to understand the hierarchical structure of power in the world political and financial system. In other words, to use an expression by a guy named James Mittelman, it is necessary to understand the "global division of labor and power." And beyond just understanding it, we have to find ways to...

within it and against it, which was the obviously the strong point of Empire, whatever tactical mistakes may have been made in its theoretical construction.

Later on, I will try to map out the way that American power has transformed over the latter half of the twentieth century, as a way to begin understanding the geosocial and geopolitical relations of the present. But for now I would just like to ask the very simple, very basic question that has been formulated a thousand times, but that the discourses of the antiglobalization movement, in particular, have never been able to answer. The question goes like this: "What was the impact on the world of the three planes that hit the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001?" Or in other words: "What did we learn on that day when everywhere in the world it was morning in New York City, and the sky seemed to be falling down on our heads?"

The idea I want to explore is that September 11 was an overpowering experience of social perception. But as in any overpowering experience, most people didn't know exactly what they had perceived. That non-knowledge spread out in waves from its epicenters in Washington and New York, gradually undermining the inherited certainties about the world, and in that way fulfilling the transition that had begun a decade before, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Second World no longer existed, and the former Third World had exploded at the heart of the First. The compass lost its cardinal points.

The memory of the explosion now constitutes the core of something like a geopolitical unconscious that continues to produce symptomatic effects, despite the years that have gone by and the increasing level of knowledge that people have gained. The event itself, September 11, could have acted as an interpretative key to open up a better, more useful understanding of these unconscious effects, which have deeper causes than the attack itself. But instead the mediated memory of the event has served as an ideological lock that makes it impossible to know what's going on. As intellectuals, I think we have to try to analyze the underlying causes of all the dangerous symptoms that are now unfolding. And as cultural producers, I think we should also try to intervene in the realm of perception, of sensibility, to reconfigure the affective maps that keep certain aspects of contemporary experience underground, unseen, unconscious, unspoken.

In order to work in that direction, the specific hypothesis I'm going to develop is that the various regional constructions one sees developing around the world mark the outset of what the economic anthropologist Karl Polanyi calls a "double movement." This refers to the process whereby a *laissez-faire* or free market economy — what we now call "neoliberalism" — begins to attack the very foundations of the society from which it springs, giving rise in turn to counter-movements that seek to protect society, but can also be just as dangerous in their own right as the processes they seek to counter. To introduce you to this idea, I will read a passage from Polanyi's book, *The Great Transformation*:

"For a century the dynamics of modern society was governed by a double movement: the market expanded continuously but this movement was met by a countermovement checking the expansion in definite directions. Vital though such a countermovement was for the protection of society, in the last analysis it was incompatible with the self-regulation of the market, and thus with the market system itself.

That system developed in leaps and bounds; it engulfed space and time, and by creating bank money it produced a dynamic hitherto unknown. By the time it reached its maximum extent, around 1914, every part of the globe, all its inhabitants and yet unborn generations, physical persons as well as huge fictitious bodies called corporations, were comprised in it. A new way of life spread over the planet with a claim to universality unparalleled since the age when Christianity started out on its career, only this time the movement was on a purely material level.

Yet simultaneously a countermovement was on foot. This was more than the usual defensive behavior of society faced with change; it was a reaction against a dislocation which attacked the fabric of society, and which would have destroyed the very organization of production that the market had called into being."

The reaction to which Polanyi refers is fascism; or rather, it is the whole gamut of protectionist regimes ranging from the American New Deal to the Soviet Five-Year Plans by way of the national back-to-work programs and military discipline of 1930s Germany, Italy and Japan. All of these represented specific forms of a generalized retreat from the free-market economy; and together, these protectionist regimes marked the end of the gold standard that had served to articulate the amazingly dynamic world-economy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Polanyi's book is a history of the constitution, then the self-destruction of the gold standard; a process of destruction that he interprets as the underlying cause of the two World Wars. But behind the story of the demise of the gold standard lies the idea that basic social continuities — the stewardship of land, the health of living labor, the coherency of a system of exchange — cannot be maintained when land, labor and money itself are treated as commodities, and relentlessly bought and sold without any regard for the complex social ecology that assures their reproduction. So Polanyi's central insight is that economic functions are embedded within a larger society; and that the liberal concept of the self-regulating market is incapable of measuring and accounting for all the interactions and solidarities that actually sustain it and make it seem to work in the short run. The tragic aspect of the story he tells is that the solutions proposed to crisis of capitalist society in the 1930s were in most cases worse than the problem — even though some form of solution was absolutely necessary.

The Great Transformation was published in 1944, but it is incredibly timely today, both as a description of what we are going through, and above all as a warning of situations that

might develop from the crisis of the present. To take only the most obvious examples, it seems to me that contemporary

American nationalism, xenophobia and religious bigotry can already be interpreted as a defensive reaction to the acceleration of change brought on by capitalist globalization, and particularly to the breakdown of social stability caused by the flexibilization of labor since the early 1980s, which of course is exactly when the neoconservatives first came to power. The rise of racism and neofascism in the European Union can be explained in similar ways. In the future I hope we can collaborate on a study of the ways that the political power of the neoconservative movement is based on an appeal to two of the very constituencies — that is to say, the traditional working class and the evangelical Christians — who are most shocked by the neoliberal economic policies that the same political elite has helped put into operation over the past twenty-five years. In other words, I think it is neoliberalism itself that provokes the reaction of neoconservatism.

But that's not the only paradox. I also think that Islamic fundamentalism can at least partially be understood as a defensive reaction to the particularly violent way that the global division of labor and the global hierarchy of power has been imposed on the Middle East. Polanyi's double movement is all around us, you can see its destructive effects at work in the laissez-faire neglect of the infrastructure in New Orleans and the racist scorn people living there, it has literally undermined the human ecology of the United States, and worse yet, of the world. In particular, the negative reinforcement of Christian fundamentalism by the Islamic variety, and vice-versa, now appears as the single most dangerous social dynamic of the present.

But if we do not succeed in understanding both of these religious revivals as counter-movements in response to the social stress of neoliberalism, then we will probably be powerless to do anything about their continuing development.

I think the regional blocs are now the best frameworks both for the analysis of these questions, and for cultural interventions that seek to make them more perceptible and tangible. On the one hand, the very formation of these blocs, at the macropolitical level, shows how the neoliberal utopia of a so-called "free market" on a world scale, articulated by regulatory institutions such as the IMF and the WTO, is impossible to constitute and can only provoke resistance. But much more interestingly, on the micropolitical scale, the formally constituted regional blocs allow us to see how the centers of capitalist accumulation continually internalize their contradictions, while negotiating them in a much more violent way wherever the significant border lines are drawn. This is particularly clear in the case of the European Union, with its emerging hierarchy of "core countries" — by which I mean Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Italy and Spain — followed by the internal periphery, which includes the ten recent entries from the former Soviet bloc, then the external periphery, outside the borders of the EU properly speaking, which ranges from countries like Romania

and Serbia to others like Turkey and Morocco.

I speak of a micropolitical level with respect to this hierarchical structure, because in fact, you can go to the border areas, or perhaps even more clearly, you can just pay attention to the social composition within the core areas, and then you will directly experience how the geopolitical divides are played out in daily life, according to the rankings assigned by skin colors, accents and cultures, and also according to the resistances to those rankings, and the subversions and surpassing of them.

The same holds for the border between the United States and Mexico, in particular, and more broadly, for the types of relations that are developing between Latino Americans and Anglos all across the hemisphere, which of course are very complex, diverse relations, of the kind that ultimately can only be known by direct experience, and can only be hinted at by the best art and literature and sociology. But that is the kind of art and literature and sociology that we can be most usefully interested in here.

Where the arts are concerned, I think that for the last 25 years — that is to say, over precisely the time period in which global capitalism has been developing on the neoliberal model — there has been a fairly successful, if still minority attempt to use the description of intersecting or clashing cultural borders as a referential framework in which particular expressions are perceived and understood. In other words, in what has been known as cultural studies, postcolonial studies, multiculturalism and identity politics, there has been an effort to replace the old paradigm of art criticism — where you are supposed to judge a particular work according to the refinement, novelty or rupture that it brings with respect to the state of the art at that particular time — with a new paradigm, where the aim is to understand and participate in an intervention that redefines the relations between cultural groups, either by comparing the results of that intervention with some description of the inherited cultural norms, or by just using the intervention as a chance to readjust the norms, to achieve if possible a better fit between the others and your own experience and desire.

What might be the most urgent thing for criticism, right now, is to add to those older practices of cultural framing a new understanding of the kinds of barriers that are determined by today's global division of labor and power. And at the same time, I think it's urgent to use an awareness of the critical maps in order to create interventions that can really retrace and transform the cartographies of social and intimate relations, both in our minds and bodies and feelings, and also at the objective borders and limits that are fixed by the law, and above all, by the exercise of coercive force.

This is what I'm basically trying to get at: the interplay between coercive maps and transformative cartographies. Or in a more metaphorical language, the interplay between continental intergradation and continental drift.

Brian Holmes

"Old colonial powers, freed from their responsibilities for poor and vulnerable former colonies, are flexing their muscles and building new empires" – Jane Kelsey

No one can doubt that we live in an age of empire and imperialism. The neo-liberal World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) stalk the planet, complimented by regional and bilateral free trade agreements. The attempts by the imperialist nations to open up new markets and new resources to their trans-national corporations (TNCs) are intensifying daily. A global trade system is being forced onto the world by the central capitalist nations to secure a flow of wealth and natural resources from the less developed to the developed world.

In the south Pacific, the global pattern is repeated. The dominant wealthy nations are seeking to re-colonise what they see as their "patch". Australia and New Zealand have been colluding to turn the Pacific into their captive market for low value goods, source of cheap and disposable labour and plentiful natural resources.

From PICTA...

The story of Australasia's recolonisation of the Pacific doesn't begin with PICTA, but for now it's a fine place to start. PICTA stands for the Pacific Islands Countries Trade Agreement. PICTA is a trade agreement between 14 Pacific Island countries in the Pacific Forum; it does not include Australia or New Zealand. PICTA was designed by Australia and New Zealand to lead to a free trade area between Pacific nations sometime in the near future by eradicating the barriers to free trade - such as tariffs, quotas, and import and export licences - between member countries. It will eventually provide for neo-liberal structural readjustment and fiscal reform, allowing smoother access for TNCs deep into the public and private sectors of Pacific nations.

PICTA came into force in 2003 but is yet to be fully implemented. There has been little public consultation or debate about this agreement. The negotiations are carried out in a secretive and undemocratic way. No thorough or satisfactory social impact assessment of PICTA has been carried out. Amongst many of the negative impacts that PICTA will have, the Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG) point out that, "Far from furthering co-operation among Pacific Island states, PICTA will encourage competition between them and could provoke unanticipated discord and tension among them and their peoples."

...to PACER...

If the future of Pacific trade seems concerning, then wait until you meet PACER. PACER is one step up from PICTA. PACER stands for the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations, and is the regional trade agreement that includes the 14 Pacific nations in PICTA as well as Australia and New Zealand. PACER is about creating a free trade agreement in the south Pacific that would allow Australasian TNCs to dominate across the Pacific. PACER will provide for

free market for trade in services.

Law Professor Jane Kelsey wrote in 2004 that "PACER is based on an individualised, competitive, self-maximising and exploitive model of free market capitalism." It isn't hard to see why. PACER and PICTA will inevitably lead to a loss of Pacific nations' tariff revenue. For many islands, tariffs on imports make up more than half of government revenue. Pacific governments will be forced to seek out alternative ways of income generation. Western consultants are quick to recommend taxes on goods and services, which will "punish the poor" while allowing foreign corporations greater access to natural resources and land ownership.

...to the WTO...

PICTA and PACER are only the beginning. They are stepping-stones towards a common Pacific market that in reality will be dominated by corporate power and characterised by a loss of indigenous sovereignty and the "marginalisation and impoverishment of vulnerable sectors of [Pacific] populations", as the nation-states involved move towards full compliance with the World Trade Organisation's neo-liberal trade regime.

The recently averted accession to the WTO by Tonga demonstrates the disastrous consequences that joining the WTO has for the Pacific. Oxfam New Zealand, in its report, *Blood from a Stone*, exposed the reality of Tonga's accession. Tonga will be allowed tariffs at no more than 20%, resulting in tariff cuts that would "affect Tonga's ability to provide basic health care, education, water supply and other essential services for its people."

...and all the way back home.

"There were times that I felt ashamed to be a New Zealander", wrote one New Zealand trade negotiator involved in PICTA and PACER. In fact, Australia and New Zealand's entire role in regards to Pacific trade is something to be ashamed of - and more than that, it is something that we must work to change.

It is our role as inhabitants in the "big brother" nations, as we are known in the Pacific, to echo the noise being made today and tomorrow in the region, in forums such as the Nadi Statement of the Pacific Regional Civil Society Forum Meeting, held between October 20th and 23rd, 2006. This recommended that "negotiations on [PACER] should not be initiated unless there has been a comprehensive impact assessment, full consultation and democratic decision making."

If we seek to build with our Pacific neighbours a fair-trading system that promotes development and sustainability, then it is time to mobilise, to organise, and to educate. As the cry of the World Social Forum goes; "another world is possible." Our role as activists, organisers, students, teachers, trade unionists, and members of civil society, is to exert our influence over the government to such an extent that they no longer find it in their interests to pursue trade injustice in the Pacific. The power, as always for popular social movements,

is in the streets; and that is where we must go to challenge PICTA, PACER, the WTO and empire, old and new.

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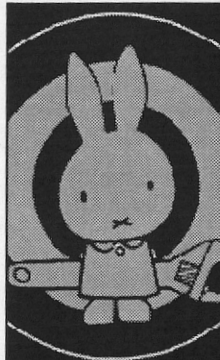
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Omar Hamed



prepared for situations that play out differently than any of the scenarios you had imagined. Be careful not to put some people at risk for others' actions; the authorities will probably charge whomever they get their hands on with the worst crimes they can, so it's important both to get those who take risks out of the area safely and to make sure serious charges can't

stick to anyone else. In some cases, you can bring together multi-leveled groups in which everyone knows the general goal but only a few know critical details such as what the target is (until the last minute) or who is carrying out the riskiest activity. Be prepared for the best case scenario as well as the worst. New ideas, if they are good ones, tend to fail because people don't take them far enough, whereas older ideas usually fail because they are too familiar to everyone, including the authorities. Sometimes the best results come from applying familiar tactics in entirely new settings. Look back in time for precedents, occasions when similar actions were attempted in similar contexts; these can be very instructive. As you gather years of experience and learn from the successes and failures of others, you'll develop skills for predicting and preparing for a wide variety of situations.

Preparation: Gather equipment and dress appropriately

Once your plans are laid, draw up a timeline until your action, counting backwards from the big day to establish the deadlines for all the pieces that must be in place. Early on in the planning, work out what funding, materials, and other resources you will need and how to obtain them. If security is a priority, obtain what you need in such a way that it cannot be traced to you; affinity groups from out of town can acquire potentially incriminating materials far from the site of the action. Make sure everyone has appropriate clothes for the action, including different outfits in layers if necessary. Take security issues into account as they relate to clothing: if everyone is dressing in black for anonymity, be sure no one's clothes have unique identifying features; likewise, if you're going to be posing as random passers-by, remember that civilian dress is different in Miami than it is in Seattle. If timing is important, make sure everyone's watches are synchronized. Double-check to make sure everything is ready by your deadline; go through a practice run, verbally if not physically. If participants are unfamiliar with the area, distribute maps. If need be, plant necessary materials in the area in advance of the action; be careful not to give anything away by doing so.

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Addressing the annual Labour party conference in Brighton in September 2004, the Irish rock star Bono described Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, as the Lennon and McCartney of the global development stage. For two politicians steeped throughout their careers in the politics of spin it could not get much better than that. One journalist later reported that 'both Blair and Brown grinned away like autograph-hunting schoolboys as the U2 man made his point'. Bono did indeed have a point. In May 2004 Blair had established an Africa Commission charged with systematically analysing all aspects of Africa's plight with a view to placing these problems centrally on the international political agenda. Brown, for his part, had devoted much of his speech on the opening day of the Labour conference to a call for a new debt initiative designed to help the world's poorest countries and for significant moves to remove the international trade barriers that were hampering the economic prospects of so many non-industrialized countries.

In a series of speeches, statements and interviews given in the aftermath of the conference both men pressed their joint agenda still further, focusing specifically on the opportunity presented by the year 2005 when it was the UK's turn to hold the presidency of the G8 and thus host the annual summit, scheduled on this occasion to convene in Gleneagles in Scotland in July. Brown, for example, delivered a powerful and moving lecture to the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) in memory of Pope Paul VI, in which he described 2005 as 'a make or break year for development'. He called specifically upon the richest countries of the world to enact a comprehensive financing programme to help poor countries, to advance further towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed by nearly all world leaders at a UN summit in September 2000, and to deliver the Doha development round under the auspices of the WTO on terms that would make it 'the first world trade agreement to be in the interests of the poorest countries'. Blair in turn added another dimension to the emerging package in his speech to the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2005. He reiterated his determination to act to help Africa and went on to identify climate change as the other great issue he wanted to address through the UK's presidency of the G8. His aim here, he said, was to inject new political will into consideration of the problem and, above all, to 'set a direction of travel' for the G8 and all other countries in confronting the damaging consequences of climate change. Blair was even alert to those who downplayed the presidency of the G8 as 'little more than a chance to show-case the host nation at the annual summit'. He saw it rather as 'an important opportunity to influence the international agenda of some of the world's most prosperous and powerful countries', especially given that the G8 summit was to be followed later in the same year by a series of other high-level meetings, including the UN MDG review conference in New York in September, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) meeting in Montreal in November–December and the WTO ministerial conference in December. In sum, the year 2005

offered what Blair himself was quite willing to highlight as 'a unique set of opportunities'.

The political stakes had thus been set at a high level by both Blair and Brown themselves even before the UK's G8 presidency had really begun. But, as the early months of the year unfolded, they were raised to an even greater, and probably unprecedented, height by the huge success of the Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign run by a UK coalition of NGOs, itself a part of a wider global movement of consciousness-raising and protest organized through the Global Campaign Against Poverty. Highlights of the campaign included the wearing of symbolic white wristbands by hundreds of thousands of people, a big march in Edinburgh just before the G8 summit and the series of 'Live 8' pop concerts put on around the same time by Bob Geldof and Bono.

This article seeks to make some political sense of Blair and Brown's Gleneagles agenda and the outcomes of the various key diplomatic meetings of 2005. It does not attempt to assess the source or the extent of the motivations of the two men, presuming them, for want of alternative evidence, to be genuine; nor does it seek to evaluate the strategy and ultimate impact of the MPH campaign, presuming that it can only have added to the political pressure felt by all the G8 leaders at the time they met in Scotland. What it does aim to do is to reflect on the aspirations and achievements of Gleneagles and all that followed; offer a critique of the conceptual framework within which Blair, Brown and the MPH campaign all seem to operate; and propose an alternative, and more hard-headed, political reading of the way in which the Gleneagles agenda unfolded during the course of that year.

The Gleneagles summit

G8 summits are the descendants of an initial, exclusive meeting of western world leaders held in Rambouillet in France in 1975. They have since become regular events and have grown increasingly formal, prepared meticulously by representatives of the leaders known as 'shepards'. Over this period the institution has come to acquire a reputation for launching bold new ideas and initiatives, and then failing to implement or live up to them. Nevertheless, on some notable occasions the leaders have given a decisive steer to the making of policy in key areas of global concern, and in general the G8 process has not been given the attention that its centrality to global political decision-making has lately come to merit. For it is the case that the G8 is the closest institutional representation of an organizing political intelligence at the summit of the world order in existence at present. Indeed, John Kirton has gone further and described it as 'prospectively the effective center ... of global governance', a claim reinforced by the fact that the G8 network now embraces meetings of foreign, finance, trade, justice, environment, home, employment, energy and education ministers, as well as ad hoc meetings, task forces and working groups to address pressing issues that draw in the leaders of other groupings.

The Gleneagles summit was thus preceded by a full

programme of other G8 ministerial meetings, with finance ministers working especially hard in that they convened three times between February and June 2005. At the summit itself, meetings with non-G8 countries or 'outreach', as it has rather revealingly come to be called took two forms. On the first day, the G8 heads met with the leaders of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa, described in the official documentation as 'emerging economy countries', with a view to associating them with their deliberations on climate change. On the second day, the G8 were joined for their discussion of Africa by the leaders of Algeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania. As ever, the summit was prolific in the production of documents a total of 14 in all, in addition to the chair's summary and the emergency statement on terrorism issued at the end of the first morning. Early, imprecise reports of the terrorist attacks in London on 7 July began to be received in Gleneagles just as the summit opened, and there is no doubt that these events affected the mood of the entire gathering. It is likely that a desire to show what kind of leadership could be offered by democratic countries encouraged a willingness to make concessions in some of the key areas of debate, and it is possible too that Blair's absence for most of the first day (he flew back to London for seven hours), as well as the decision to shorten the discussion of Africa in order to end the summit early on the second day, may have generated some extra imprecision in what was actually agreed.

Nevertheless, the main outcomes of the summit in relation to the substantive agenda set by the UK presidency in advance of the meeting can be summarized easily enough. In relation to Africa, they included the following decisions:

- to double aid to all developing countries by around US\$50 billion per year, with at least US\$25 billion extra per year for Africa;
- to take forward, via a working group, discussion of innovative financing mechanisms to generate more aid, including the 'International Financing Facility (IFF)', promoted for the past two years by Brown, and an air-ticket solidarity levy, recently suggested by the French government;
- to cancel all the debts (estimated to amount to more than US\$40 billion) owed by eligible heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) to the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the African Development Bank (AfDB); and
- to boost investment in health and education in Africa, and to take action to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other killer diseases.

In relation to trade, the G8 leaders pledged 'to work to further increase momentum towards our goal of an ambitious and balanced outcome' in the forthcoming WTO negotiations in Hong Kong, with a view to bringing them to conclusion 'by the end of 2006'. In relation to climate change, a separate statement acknowledged at the outset that 'human activities' contributed to 'the warming of our Earth's surface'; it went on to commit the G8 to 'act with resolve and urgency' to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, to 'work together, and

in partnership with major emerging economies' to achieve 'substantial reductions' in such emissions, and to continue to pursue these ends within the existing UNFCCC process, which meant those member countries of the G8 that had ratified the Kyoto Protocol making a success of it. More adventurously, the leaders also initiated a wider 'dialogue on climate change, clean energy and sustainable development' and invited other interested countries to join. Blair agreed to convene the first meeting in the UK in the latter part of 2005; Russia indicated that during its G8 presidency in 2006 it would focus on energy (on which theme the leaders produced a worthy set of mostly technical proposals for common action); and Japan undertook to receive a report on the dialogue's achievements at the 2008 summit, which it would convene. Blair's summary document as chair made it clear that the five 'emerging economy countries' had agreed to participate in this new dialogue. They themselves issued no public comment beyond a pre-summit 'joint declaration' in which, *inter alia*, they reiterated Kyoto's founding principle of the 'common but differentiated responsibilities' of countries with respect to climate change and pointed out, gently but firmly, that this meant that 'developed countries should take the lead in international action to combat climate change', leaving developing countries to focus on economic and social development and poverty eradication as their 'first and overriding priorities'. They certainly did not make any mention of committing themselves to reduce the greenhouse emissions of their own countries.

As one might perhaps expect, the actual commitments contained in these agreements were not necessarily what was first implied. They had been drafted with skill and were designed, obviously, to boast about achievement and obscure discord. Much of the rest of the article is devoted to a full and thorough exegesis of the whole Gleneagles agenda, and it will be seen as we proceed that much less was delivered by the summit than these headline outcomes seemed to proclaim. But it is interesting just to consider for a moment the immediate debate to which the publication of the summit's various communiqués and statements gave rise. Blair typically sought to set the agenda of the world's media. In a closing news conference he conceded that 'it is in the nature of politics that you do not achieve absolutely everything you want ... we do not simply by this communiqué make poverty history'. But, he went on, 'we do show how it can be done, and we do signify the political will to do it'. Indeed, pressed by a journalist on this last point, he declared that the various new commitments on aid, debt and health were 'strong' and, perhaps injudiciously, went on to add that, if delivered, 'they will make poverty history'. On trade, Blair was prepared to admit that although he had argued for the inclusion of a specific date for the ending of G8 agricultural export subsidies, he had not been able to get agreement. On climate change, though, he was distinctly optimistic, evaluating the summit's statement as follows:

What it isn't ... is a renegotiation of a climate change treaty, or a going back over the disagreement over Kyoto. What it is ... is a firm consensus that this problem needs to be tackled

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has to be tackled now, together with a dialogue for the future and a plan of action that brings on the one hand the major wealthy economies, including America, and on the other hand the emerging economies of China and India and other countries together. That ... is something to be proud of. All in all, Gleneagles in his view represented 'significant progress' and was a demonstration, in marked contrast to the terrorist tactics deployed in London the day before, that 'there is a better and more hopeful way of doing politics in the future'.

Blair's accomplished use of spin created problems for the various NGOs that made up the MPH coalition. The truth was that its campaign had been cleverly coopted by Blair that it was initially wrong-footed by the tone taken by Blair, in particular, in the immediate aftermath. The campaign's official reaction reflected this uneasiness. 'Today', it announced on its website, 'the G8 have chosen not to do all that campaigners insist is necessary to free people trapped in the prison of poverty. Important steps have been taken ... but more action is urgently needed.' This statement barely concealed the very real differences of opinion expressed by specific individuals and groups. Geldof himself awarded the leaders impressive scores: 'on aid, 10 out of 10; on debt, eight out of 10 ... mission accomplished frankly', a comment for which he has since been widely derided within many parts of the NGO movement. At the other end of the spectrum, more critical voices felt not only a genuine disappointment that the G8 had not delivered more—CAFOD, for example, stating that 'warm words can't replace concrete action' but also that the MPH campaign had actually weakened the main G8 summit protests in Scotland. For example, Walden Bello, director of the Bangkok-based NGO Focus on the Global South, argued that the MPH leadership 'chose not to radicalise' the main pre-summit march in Edinburgh. 'This was a very different mood from previous G8 counter-mobilisation,' he asserted; 'here it was, "Let's work with the G8", and a rather mellow atmosphere, while other mobilizations have been more confrontational.' By implication, MPH had become unduly influenced by celebrities and had positioned itself too close to Blair and Brown and their like. These are, of course, classic dilemmas for all protest groups and another article could and should be written about the whole MPH campaign, especially now that it has formally dissolved itself.

However, from the perspective of the argument being developed here, what is striking, and worthy of scrutiny, is the high degree of consensus about how to think about the issues being tackled by the G8—the key organizing assumptions, if you like—shared by both Blair and Brown, on the one hand, and the mainstream MPH campaign, on the other. The problems were presented as though the G8 could solve them, if only it could summon the necessary political will to do so. The presumption, in effect, was that poverty could be made history by command of the leaders of the world's richest countries. The difference of opinion was then reduced to the matter of whether they were serious about enacting and implementing such a programme of change. Some may have given them eight, or even ten, out of ten, others rated

their achievements much more modestly; but all could engage in the game as if it were ice-skating rather than international politics. The commonalities even extended to the conceptual language deployed, specifically that the purpose of the political activity in question was to bring what was always unquestioningly referred to as a 'development' dimension to the making of policy.

The concept of development itself was rarely, if ever, defined, the presumption being that it referred in some uncontested way to the improvement of the lot of the less developed countries of the world.

It was conventionally assumed, in other words, that we could all approach these events as if a simple developed countries/developing countries, North/South dichotomy was the best—indeed, the only—way to frame the issues at stake. For most, to be sure, the relationship between these two worlds was no longer to be conceived of as a matter of charity. For Blair, explicitly, what was desired was 'a partnership' between the G8 and Africa. Others in the MPH movement may more generally have preferred to think that what was required was better described as justice. But this was at best no more than a somewhat harder position on the same spectrum. What, however, if the very notions of 'developed' and 'developing' countries, of 'North' and 'South', as organizing categories of both action and analysis had long since become outdated, to the point where they actually worked to mislead and were being preserved only because a professional 'development community' had built its existence around them and academics had become too lazy (or too involved in that community) to bother to challenge their continued usage?

Anthony Payne

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At length the term-day, the fatal Martinmas, arrived, and violent measures of ejection were resorted to. A strong posse of peace-officers, sufficient to render all resistance vain, charged the inhabitants to depart by noon; and as they did not obey, the officers, in terms of their warrant, proceeded to unroof the cottages, and pull down the wretched doors and windows – a summary and effectual mode of ejection, still practised in some remote parts of Scotland, when a tenant proves refractory.

Sir Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering or The Astrologer* (1829)

Neoliberal globalisation entered into its first major crisis seven summers ago, with the so-called 'Asian Financial Crisis'. Since then the ideological power of this form of capitalism has been slowly ebbing. The once attractive image of the creative powers of humanity finally being brought together in the process of globalisation for the 'common good' by borderless transfers of money, capital and labour at the speed of light now seems to be a nostalgic relic. Since 1997, along with the continuing economic crises and stagnation of Europe, South America, and Africa, neoliberal globalisation has faced two major ideological reversals. The first reversal is associated with a city (Seattle) and the second with a date (September 11 2001).

The street blockades that temporarily halted the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle at the end of November 1999, brought to planetary consciousness the existence of a global movement of resistance to neoliberal globalisation. This movement had been growing through the thousands of 'IMF riots', general strikes and guerrilla wars in the Third World since the mid-1980s against structural adjustment programmes (SAPs – the 'wedges' that opened economies previously resistant to complete control by international capital). But the sudden appearance on the streets of a movement capable of stopping the apparently unstoppable locomotive of globalisation made it clear that there was another reality not buying a future whose only aim was to put the world up for sale to the highest bidder. On the contrary, the movement was able to demonstrate that globalisation will result in the unprecedented immiseration of people throughout the planet unless it is stopped.

The September 11 2001 destruction of the World Trade Center towers and the killing of three thousand people were followed by a 'war on terrorism' that revealed the military aspect of globalisation: globalisation's invisible hand required an equally global iron fist. Instead of dealing with 9/11 as a crime whose perpetrators were to be apprehended, tried and convicted on the basis of international law, it was seen by the Bush administration as a symbolic attack on the US's status as the hegemonic power guaranteeing the operation of the rules of the world market. Soon after 9/11, George W. Bush expressed this vision when he identified the real enemy as nation states comprising 'the axis of evil' – Iraq, Iran and North Korea – and any of the other unnamed 30 or 40 other 'rogue', or potentially 'terrorist-harbours' nation states throughout the planet. Indeed, Osama bin Laden and his project for founding a new Caliphate was all but forgotten in the rush to discipline nation states that for one

reason or another were not completely open to global capital flows (Iraq in particular). But this image of globalisation as requiring a literally 'infinite' war against recalcitrant states and populations (branded by Bush's neoconservative advisors as 'anti-democratic') was the sign of a crisis, especially since it undermined globalisation's promise of a closer, more interdependent world where it was in everyone's interest to 'just get along'.

Globalisation's ideological crisis had deepened to the point that by the end of 2004 all the major efforts to extend the 'globalisation' agenda (Central American Free Trade Agreement, Free Trade Area of the Americas, the Doha Round of WTO negotiations, etc.) were being stalled on both the street and the diplomatic levels. This was the time for neoliberal globalisation to explore another option, which I will call, for want of a better term, 'Plan B'. The doctrinaire neoliberalism of the past was clearly failing and the need for alternative means to a neoliberal end was dawning in the British Foreign Office, in the UN, in parts of the World Bank and in the organs of 'global civil society'. If this group's slogan was not 'another world is possible', it was 'another path is necessary'. Indeed, one of the most important features of this 'Plan B' is its ability to use the energies of the anti-globalisation movement for its realisation.

Jeffrey Sachs wrote and published his book, *The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen in Our Lifetime* (as well as a series of related op-ed articles in the New York Times), in early 2005 to respond to this ideological and political crisis. It is one of the first books to proselytise for 'Plan B'. For Sachs represents those who are convinced that neoliberal globalisation, if properly managed, is the only path to a future without abject poverty and misery for billions of people (and the only alternative for the survival of capitalism). The book's publication was timed to reach its greatest audience in early July when the G8 leaders would meet in Gleneagles to consider a new 'anti-poverty package' for African nations that was developed by a variety of agencies from the British Foreign Office, to the UN, to academic centres like the Earth Institute that Sachs heads in New York, to the organisers of the Live8 concerts like Bob Geldof and Bono (who wrote the preface of the book). It clearly sets out the ideology and strategy of the supporters of 'Plan B'.

There is much that is unattractive about the book, besides its ideological purpose. *The End of Poverty* is one part self-congratulatory memoir of Sachs' roles as advisor to the governments of Bolivia, Russia, Poland, India and China, and part world-historical tract justifying the ultimate rationality of neoliberal capitalism (if it is properly applied to 'sick' countries by 'clinical economists' like himself). In the first part of the book Sachs tells us what he advised these governments to do during the time of his involvement, but invariably he adds an upbeat note, even when the results were patently catastrophic. For example, it is estimated that millions of Russians, especially men, died prematurely because of the collapse of wages and the public health system during the time that Sachs was advising the Yeltsin government.

rate of a 'moderate' nuclear war!

But Sachs' panglossian comment on this episode is: 'Looking back, would I have advised Russia differently knowing what I know today?... To a large extent, the answer is no... Most of the bad things that happened – such as the massive theft of state assets under the rubric of privatisation – were directly contrary to the advice that I gave and to the principles of honesty and equity I hold dear' (1).

You protest too much, Dr. Sachs. Is it possible to be so nice in our discriminations of the 'good' versus the 'bad' when involved in a process of the primitive accumulation of capital? Can Sachs have forgotten the 'fire and blood' that set the stage for the triumph of the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers like David Hume and Adam Smith he so admires: the massacres of the Highlanders at the end of the 1745 rebellion and the clearances that followed throughout the end of the 18th and 19th centuries (so deftly described by Scott in the epigraph of this piece). The ghosts of those dead greeted the G8 leaders in Gleneagles and spoke a truth that was not drowned out by the fairy tale of Pacific capitalist development told by economists from Adam Smith's day. These ghosts evoked a more sober assessment of the bloody process of introducing neoliberal globalisation. They warned of the collapsing incomes and increasing 'poverty' in countries that have given over the direction of their economies to the 'experts' like Sachs.

The main point of this article, however, is not to slay once again the ailing dragon of neoliberal globalisation theory. It is to interrogate the definition of Sachs' overt project and then to delineate its covert political purpose.

Sachs claims not be a doctrinaire neoliberal economist, but a clinical economist who uses the tools of neoliberal theory to diagnose the causes of economic diseases and to provide appropriate therapies (2). The disease he is attacking in this book is 'poverty', and the last part of his book is a plan to end poverty by 2025 (an attractive date since the bulk of his readers have a relatively good chance of reaching it alive!). For Sachs the economic disease is 'extreme poverty' and its cure is a goal only the most doctrinaire neoliberal or fanatic neoconservative would openly find fault with (although some have objected to Dr. Sachs' prescription). Yes, the ending of 'extreme poverty' (after creating so much of it) in twenty years would be a triumph of neoliberal capitalism. But with one plan after another to 'end poverty' since Robert McNamara's World Bank years in the 1970s, launched by the usual suspects – the UN, the World Bank, the development BINGOs (Big International NGOs) – leading to the intensification of 'misery' in Africa, and a political rejection of neoliberal economics in South and Central America (including the violent expulsion of one of Sachs' coworkers, Schez de Lozada, from the presidency of Bolivia by thousands of indigenous protesters in the period of the 'gas wars') there is much justifiable suspicion of Sachs' claims.

Why is Dr. Sachs so sure he understands the poverty that

he claims his plan can end? Should we trust that he and his Live8 colleagues will, at least, do no harm? A major source for suspicion are the two different, conflicting definitions of 'extreme poverty' he offers: (a) 'extreme poverty means that households cannot meet basic needs', and (b) extreme poverty means an 'income of \$1 per day per person, measured at purchasing power parity'. Many African or South American villagers can testify on the basis of their own experience that these definitions do not have the same meaning. There are many villages where the 'basic needs' of their residents (as they conceive them) are satisfied, but whose collective income is less than \$365 a year per person. This is possible because the villagers have access to land, forests and water that has not been privatised.

Technically, (a) is a 'use value' definition while (b) is an 'exchange value' definition. Such definitions, however, are non-synonymous (as the famous 'water/diamonds' parable has illustrated since Adam Smith's day, although now, with the privatisation of water, it has become less salient!).³

For example, in many villages in Africa adults (including, in certain areas, women) have access to (although not ownership of) land that they can use for their families' subsistence. This is an enormous wealth ('use value') that cannot be alienated and hence does not have an 'exchange value'. But if each adult has land enough to satisfy his/her basic needs but does not earn more than a dollar a day, then surely that person is poor according to Sachs' definition (b), but not poor according to definition (a). Things get even more complicated when we consider the fact that these villagers' access to similar land in a part of the country that has a real estate market might be 'worth' a few hundred or a few thousand dollars. Is the imputed value of the common land, divided by the number of commoners, part of the annual income of the villagers? Similar questions can be asked about children.

In many parts of Africa, children are 'shared' by villages or extended families and their actual income is below \$1 a day per person. These children often have their 'basic needs' satisfied. Are these children extremely poor, even though the caring hands they pass through on their way to adulthood satisfy their basic needs?

After all, what does the 'exchange value' measure of extreme poverty – the quantity \$1 a day when considered from the point of view of purchasing power parity (PPP) – come to? The definition of PPP Sachs and the World Bank use is 'the number of units of a country's currency needed to buy in the country the same amount of goods and services as, say, one US dollar could buy in the US'. Consequently, according to the definition, an extremely poor person is someone who 'lives' on the 'goods and services' that one can buy for \$1 a day in the US. It is clear that definition (b) implies definition (a), in that surely one cannot satisfy one's basic needs on a dollar a day in the US alone, but even that statement is too weak, for according to the common understanding of what can be bought in the US for \$1 a day, the people that fall under this definition ought all to be dead. But they are not.

How is this possible? There must be non-monetary ways that the 1.1 billion-plus people who fit the definition of 'extremely poor', according to Sachs, have organised to reproduce their and their families' lives.

It is notoriously 'difficult' for economists to determine the value of unwaged reproductive 'services' even in a fully monetarised society. It certainly is even more so in a form of life where the unwaged portion overwhelms the waged. Consequently, the surveys that are used to determine the monetary value of 'goods and services' the so-called poor consume are so unreliable they can add or subtract hundreds of millions from the category of extreme poverty on the basis of an arbitrary accounting change (see, for example, the internal World Bank debate between Angus Deaton, who finds no change in the number of 'extremely poor' since the early 1980s, and Shaohua Chan and Martin Ravallion, who find a 400 million decline in the number of extremely poor people on the planet, mostly in China) (4).

This 'difficulty', arbitrariness and evasion is an old story as far as the notion of poverty is concerned, since the real definition of being poor is that of one who ought not to be alive... according to the rules of the capitalist system... but is! That is, someone who is wageless and propertyless in a monetary society. From the historical moment (some time in the nineteenth century in Europe) when the wage stopped being the badge of the poor (and the stigma of a lack of independence) and began to guarantee the capacity to reproduce the worker within the system, the wageless were logically doomed. Indeed, the categories of 'poor' and wageless merged then, leading to enormous confusion in both capitalist and anti-capitalist thinking.

Yet, though the wageless were not supposed to be reproduced by the capitalist system, still they survive. To generations of capitalists their 'irrational' existence has meant that they were a priori criminals (often violating yet undreamed of statutes!). To many Marxists, these wageless ones – the urban 'lumpen proletariat' or the reactionary peasant 'rural idiots' – being undisciplined by the wage, were to be treated with suspicion until they too could be brought into the waged working class proper. But to many other anti-capitalists the poor became the evidence of the existence of a communal continent that existed below the surface of capitalist reality waiting to emerge, both in the planet's countryside and its cities. This continent has been the object of many studies made by anthropologists and political activists as well as intelligence agents (often shifting identities in the course of a career). Though its existence has been debated at times, its earthquakes have certainly created political tsunamis across the planet. After all, the major revolutionary movements of the twentieth century – from Emiliano Zapata's peasant column entering Mexico City, through the nomadic Chinese Red Army, and the Vietnamese NLF fighters, to the EZLN cadres' insurrection against NAFTA on January 1 1994 – arose out of these wageless ones' power to shake the world.

Consequently, capitalism has carefully produced wageless-

ness, but capitalists remain ambivalently anxious about the wageless, for capitalism, as Prospero said of Caliban, cannot do without them. After all, the existence of the vast continent of the wageless is the basic disciplinary threat to be used against the waged workers of the world. On the one side, they are to be the 'horrific' image of what could happen to a waged working class, if it refuses to accept the dictates of neoliberal capitalism and, on the other side, they are to be a standing 'reserve army' in case capital decides to pick some subset of them for 'development'. Finally, of course, the wageless, especially women, are the basic reproducers of the waged working class.

But the world does not wait on capital. The 'extremely poor' (in Sachs' terminology) necessarily have created non-monetary reproductive systems that have demonstrated the power of communal relations to resist enclosures and provide subsistence in ways that the Scottish Highlanders could never have imagined. On the basis of these systems the wageless are beginning to set off new political earthquakes (especially in South America). Or, in the face of increasing demonetisation, their reliance on communal relations is creating a situation where they stop being credible potential competitors on the international labour market (especially in Africa).

The 'poor' (in Sachs' terminology) or the 'wageless', therefore, constitute contemporary capital's Scylla and Charybdis. Wageless people's attacks on and exits from globalisation must both be quelled to give neoliberalism a new impulse according to Dr. Sachs' diagnosis. Therefore, it is important to see why it is that Sachs is so insistent on only attacking 'extreme poverty' and assisting the billion-plus people in this category to break out of the 'poverty trap' that keeps them from grasping 'the first rung of the development ladder'. The poverty he wants eliminated by 2025 is one that makes it difficult for a wageless person to become a waged worker, even potentially. It used to be said that in a capitalist society the only thing worse for a worker than being exploited, is not being exploited at all. But Sachs recognises the adage cuts both ways, the only thing worse for the capitalist system than a reduction of exploitation is the reduction of the exploitable! Putting aside Sachs' moral imperatives and his appeals to the heritage of the Enlightenment, the practical consequence of Sachs' medicine is that the pool of potential competitors in the world's wage labour market will be dramatically enlarged once again.

Dr. Sachs is committed to saving capitalism from a catastrophe that all but blind doctrinaire neoliberals (with their neoconservative allies) see approaching. These neoliberals simply assume that if the world labour market consigns billions to death, the condemned will automatically disappear. Or, as the neoconservatives aver, if the condemned resist, they can be isolated, bombed and starved out. Sachs knows that these are just pipe dreams. For the inability to keep expanding the world labour market, and the increasing refusal of many of the peoples of the former colonised regions to be profitably exploited by capital, will create a dramatic reduction in the average rate of profit. In his role as the early 21st century John Maynard Keynes, Sachs like Keynes is not

interested in debating the justice (and even the ultimate fate) of capitalism. But he is not as sanguine as Keynes was that capitalists would be willing to accept a couple of per cent as a profit rate just to keep their interesting game going. Sachs is anxious, as a clinician to capitalism (his other, more troublesome patient!), that the world labour market (not the world population) grows in the future, providing the control rods on the demands of the rest of the working class. This aspect of his argument gives his proposals a logic that can appeal to capitalists.

The confusing, non-synonymous definitions of 'extreme poverty' Sachs uses are essential to the political project he and his allies are embarked upon: (1) to sell to the world capitalist class (represented by the club of G8 'leaders') the proposition that a small investment in the reproduction of the wageless of the world in order to transform them into credible competitors in the world wage labour market will be crucial to save the capitalist system in the 21st century and (2) to convince the militants of the anti-globalisation movement to eschew their pessimism 'about the possibilities of capitalism with a human face, in which the remarkable power of trade and investment can be harnessed while acknowledging and addressing limitations through compensatory collective actions' (5). For if the PPP definition is taken as identical to the 'humanistic' 'basic needs' definition, then it would appear that the most efficient path to end extreme poverty (hence presumably satisfying the anti-globalisation militants) is to create the conditions for introducing wage labour at a rate greater than, say, 10 cents an hour (hence satisfying his capitalist audience).

But if the 'basic needs'/'use value' definition is clearly distinguished from the '\$1 a day' one, then the most efficient way to eliminate poverty is to decommodify people's necessities while returning all available resources (land, natural resources, etc.) to communal control. It is exactly this path of decommodification in the long-run that Sachs wishes to avoid, even though his plan requires it in the short-run (i.e. until at least 2025) by providing to the poor free education, free nutrition programmes, free anti-malarial equipment, free drinking water, sanitation and cooking fuels. But it is exactly this tension between the short-run and long-run (which is the source of Keynes' famous cynical epigram, 'in the long run we are all dead') that Sachs evades. For there is no automatic reason why a people who have 'escaped the poverty trap' through decommodification of basic needs and the development of their commons will necessarily rush to sell their labour-power to the first capitalist offering a wage.

In conclusion, Sachs' prescription for the recovery of his unacknowledged patient, the capitalist class, is to invest in bringing more than a billion of the 'extremely poor' into the planetary labour market by 2025. The sugar coating on this pill is to make this effort appear as an altruistic act (and hence potentially attractive to some of the militants of the anti-globalisation movement). But if the response of the G8 'leaders' at Gleneagles is any indication, the patient is still suspicious of the Dr. Sachs' prescription. And well it should be, for The

End of Poverty marks a 'return' to Keynesian 'short-term' medicine, now applied on a global scale to save neoliberal globalisation in the long-run. But this is exactly what the neoliberal 'revolution' has turned the world upside down to avoid. Are the capitalists desperate enough to go back to their own vomit?

What impact Dr. Sachs' medicine might have on the anti-globalisation movement is more ambiguous. It cannot be assessed by comparing the number of viewers of the Live8 concerts with the number of anti-G8 demonstrators in Scotland. Its political fate will be decided by the ultimate source of the anti-globalisation movement: in the thousands of sites of confrontations around the control of natural gas and petroleum in Bolivia and Niger Delta, against the drug company super-profits in South Africa and Brazil, for the preservation of the commons in Columbia and Kenya as well as in the streets of the next venue of the G8's meeting.

1 Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen in our Lifetime* (London: Penguin Books, 2005) pp. 146–47.

2 *ibid.*, pp. 71–89.

3 The water/diamonds parable or paradox concerns the relative values of these two substances.

While water is essential to life (has a high use-value), it is (usually) very cheap (has a low exchange-value). On the other hand, the utility (use-value) of diamonds is much less, yet they are extremely expensive (have a high exchange-value).

4 Angus Deaton, 'Is World Poverty Falling?', *Finance and Development* 39 (2), 2002; Shaohua

Chan and Martin Ravallion, 'How have the World's Poor Fared since the early 1980s?', *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* 3341 (June), 2004.

5 Sachs, *The End of Poverty*, p. 357.

George Caffentzis

Taken from SHUT THEM DOWN!

<http://www.shutthemdown.org/Resources/Ch%205.pdf>

GELDOF 8 - AFRICA NIL: HOW ROCK STARS BETRAYED THE POOR

So, finally, what became of the Gleneagles G8 gathering and Live8 concerts in July? Detailed investigation and careful analysis by Stuart Hodgkinson show that the smoke and mirrors favoured by celebrity egos at the time concealed a terrible void where effective action on Africa was claimed to be. Instead, the experience may mark another turning point in the campaign for global justice.

'This has been the most important summit there ever has been for Africa. There are no equivocations. Africa and the poor of that continent have got more from the last three days than they have ever got at any previous summit.' When a disheveled but defiant Bob Geldof, flanked by U2 frontman Bono, delivered this ringing endorsement of the G8's deal for Africa at July's post-summit press conference in Gleneagles, representatives from African civil society and the Make Poverty History (MPH) coalition could be seen shaking their heads in angry disbelief.

'People must not be fooled by the celebrities,' complained Senegalese economist Demba Moussa Dembele of the African Forum on Alternatives. 'Africa got nothing.' British development NGOs were also furious, some immediately distancing themselves from the Live 8 stars. 'By offering such unwarranted praise for the dismal deal signed by world leaders [Geldof] has done a disservice to the hundreds of thousands of people who marched in Edinburgh,' said the World Development Movement's (WDM) Peter Hardstaff in a joint-statement with War on Want.

Their anger was understandable. The previous night, members of MPH's co-ordinating team had successfully faced down a desperate last-ditch effort led by Oxfam, Britain's most powerful development NGO and key ally of the Labour Government, to secure a positive reaction to the G8 communiqué. Kumi Naidoo, the veteran South African anti-apartheid campaigner and now chair of MPH's international umbrella, the Global Call to Action against Poverty (G-CAP), summed up the coalition's official verdict. 'The people have roared but the G8 has whispered,' he told the hundred or so assembled international journalists. 'The promise to deliver [more aid] by 2010 is like waiting five years before responding to the tsunami.'

Coming from a campaign whose megastar celebrity backers had made it the darling of the British media for the past year, such legitimate criticism was potentially devastating to New Labour's attempts to spin Blair's G8 chairmanship as an 'historic result for Africa'. The pressure appears to have been particularly felt by Justin Forsyth, Oxfam's former policy chief turned Downing Street special advisor, who it is alleged had to be 'physically separated' from Naidoo later backstage. Insiders allege that in the weeks leading up to the summit, Forsyth had been trying without success to intimidate leading NGO officials into sticking to the pro-government line.

But in Blair and the G8's moment of crisis, it was Geldof who came riding furiously to their rescue. Casting off his MPH hat in favour of his official role in Blair's Commission

for Africa and Live 8, the former rock star branded his fellow anti-poverty campaigners 'a disgrace' to the world's media before gushing euphoric about the G8's offerings. 'On aid, ten out of ten. On debt, eight out of ten. On trade... it is quite clear that this summit, uniquely, decided that enforced liberalisation must no longer take place,' he said before finishing with a flourish. 'That is a serious, excellent result on trade.' His intervention ensured that the next day's media coverage was dominated by an unwarranted 'job done' spin that let the G8 off the hook and left campaigners with an uphill struggle to regain popular interest in the issues.

Aid, trade and debt: the Gleneagles deception

Civil society's disappointment with both the G8 outcome and the celebrities' positive portrayal of it can be understood by contrasting MPH's demands – previously criticised by Southern campaigners as too conservative and compromising to G8 policies – with the Gleneagles communiqué.

In line with the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed in 2000, MPH had wanted an immediate increase of \$50 billion a year in international aid from rich countries. It had also called on the G8 countries – Canada, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, Russia, Britain and the US – to meet by 2010 a 35-year promise to spend 0.7 per cent of national income on overseas development; prior to Gleneagles, the average across the G8 was less than 0.2 per cent. These demands were not just inspired by aid agency self-interest: the UN argues such financing is required to meet the 2015 targets to halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty, and reduce by two-thirds the 11 million 0-5 year-old children who die each year mainly from preventable diseases.

More aid also had to be 'better aid', untied from policies and purchases dictated by Western governments. As Yifat Susskind, associate director of Madre, the US-based women's human rights organisation, argues, this 'conditionality' goes beyond privatisation and trade liberalisation: 'Nearly 70 per cent of US aid money is "tied" to purchases from US-based corporations, including HIV/AIDS drugs, which cost up to \$15,000 a year per patient, compared to \$350 for generics.' She explains how Bush's Millennium Challenge Account, praised by Bono and Geldof for boosting aid flows to Africa, 'explicitly ties aid to co-operation in the US's "war on terror" and favours Christian organisations that promote abstinence over proven "safer sex" approaches to prevention and violate internationally agreed-upon sexual and reproductive rights.'

So when the G8 announced with great fanfare that they had agreed to 'double aid' by 2010 to \$50 billion a year, with \$25 billion going to Africa, and that 'poor countries should be free to determine their own economic policies', Bono's emotional endorsement would no doubt have satisfied the 200,000 demonstrators who flocked to Edinburgh on 2 July to 'Make Poverty History', and the hundreds of millions who had watched Live 8. 'We are talking about \$25 billion of new money,' he said, his voice cracking. 'The world spoke and the politicians listened.'

But MPH insiders claim Bono the rockstar was putting on

the acting performance of his life, as they had already briefed him that the aid deal was in fact bogus. Over half of the \$50 billion wasn't 'new money' at all but came from either old pledges or future aid budgets, meaning less assistance after 2010. Only EU countries had agreed to meet the 0.7 per cent aid target and even this would not happen until 2015 – 45 years after the original commitment was made. Britain, meanwhile, was alone in announcing it would no longer tie overseas aid to free market reforms, while the US made it clear that aid increases would require 'reciprocal liberalisation'.

Campaigners argue that the G8 debt deal was a similar pop-star-veiled deception. MPH had demanded immediate and unconditional 100 per cent debt cancellation for the 62 poorest countries through a 'fair and transparent international process' that used new money, not slashed aid budgets. Despite MPH's rhetoric of 'unpayability' and 'human need', this wasn't about Western charity or 'forgiveness' but righting an historic wrong. Between 1970 and 2002 African countries alone received a total of \$540 billion in loans and paid back \$550 billion in interest – yet today the continent still has a staggering \$295 billion official debt stock. Much of the original debt was a hangover from colonialism that was then hugely inflated by the massive hike in interest rates during the 1970s and 1980s. The human cost has been devastating: during the 1980s, tens of millions of Africans needlessly died from starvation and disease at the same time as debt service repayments averaged 16 per cent of African government expenditure, compared to 12 per cent on education and 4 per cent on health.

When British Chancellor Gordon Brown emerged from June's G7 (minus Russia) Finance Ministers meeting in London to announce that 18 countries – 14 of which were African – would receive '100 per cent multilateral debt cancellation', with another 20 countries to follow, the British media led the plaudits. '\$55 billion Africa debt deal "a victory for millions"', ran the front page of *The Observer*, citing an ecstatic Geldof who said: 'Tomorrow, 280 million Africans will wake up for the first time in their lives without owing you or me a penny from the burden of debt that has crippled them and their countries for so long.'

However, NGOs are adamant that Geldof once again knowingly misled the public. The G7 had not in fact agreed to cancel the debts of 14 African countries, or of any other country for that matter. Instead, they had agreed a 'proposal' – still to be ratified by the relevant bodies, with leaked documents revealing major political obstacles in the way – to take over the debt repayments of those countries to just three of world's 19 multilateral creditors – the IMF, World Bank and the African Development Bank (ADB). This meant that African countries would continue to be saddled with crippling debts owed to the other 16. Moreover, the \$55 billion figure would in reality be worth little more than \$1 billion a year – the amount of annual interest payments to the IMF, World Bank and ADB by the 18 countries as a whole. This will hardly put a dent in the \$23.6 billion paid out in 2003 in debt servicing by developing countries.

Campaigners from Jubilee South, a global network of more than 80 debt campaigns across Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia/Pacific, argue that despite promises to the contrary, it is no coincidence that the 18 selected countries have just completed nine years of neoliberal structural adjustment under the IMF/World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) scheme. This has typically increased poverty and inequality at the same time as privatising and liberalising large swathes of their economies. 'The 20 countries additionally earmarked for debt cancellation must now also submit to the HIPC process,' explains Eric Toussaint of the Belgium-based Committee for the Abolition of the Third World Debt (CADTM). 'And for every dollar received in debt relief, poor countries will receive an equivalent dollar reduction in aid, precious funding that will only be returned if they meet "specific policy criteria" – more long years of privatisation and liberalisation that increases school fees, health-care costs and tax, removes subsidies for basic products and creates unfair competition between local producers and transnational corporations, all of which hurts the poor. For Geldof to stand there and say that conditionality is over was a complete lie.' 1

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the summit's deliberations centred on trade. MPH had demanded the G8 set binding dates for the abolition of subsidies and other support to their farmers – worth some \$300 billion a year – that destroys rural communities across the global South, and stop forcing through liberalisation and privatisation on poor countries in multilateral, regional and bilateral trade negotiations. 'The G8 summit did not indicate any change of heart from the aggressive campaign their negotiators are pursuing at the WTO talks to rapidly open up the developing countries' agricultural, industrial and services sectors,' says Martin Khor of Third World Network, the influential international research and advocacy body based in Malaysia, citing the G8 communiqué's stated intention to pursue an 'ambitious and balanced outcome in negotiations' at the Hong Kong WTO Ministerial in December. Even Oxfam's director, Barbara Stocking, was forced to admit that 'Gleneagles failed on trade, offering less to developing countries even than has been promised in the WTO'.

New Labour, Oxfam and the celebrity set

So why did Geldof and Bono, two men renowned for their 20-year commitment to helping Africa's poor, deliberately misrepresent the G8 deal? The most obvious explanation would appear to lie in Bono and Geldof's personal closeness to Blair and Brown, along with film director and writer Richard Curtis, who founded the Britain's powerful celebrity-led Africa charity, Comic Relief. For WDM's Peter Hardstaff, a key member of MPH, the answer lies in a mixture of egomania and ignorance. 'I got the impression that Bob Geldof wanted to justify Live 8 and his involvement in Blair's Commission for Africa,' he explains. 'Anyone involved in trade campaigning for the past couple of years would recognise the G8 came up with nothing new, so how he could come up with such effusive praise is beyond me.' 'The highly publicised exclusion of African artists from the

main Live 8 stage in Hyde Park helped us to finally understand the real objectives behind the Blair-Geldof axis,'

But leading figures in African civil society believe that the rock star philanthropists are part of a wider conspiracy of Western corporate profiteering on the back of Africa. 'The highly publicised exclusion of African artists from the main Live 8 stage in Hyde Park helped us to finally understand the real objectives behind the Blair-Geldof axis,' argues Aminata Traore, Mali's former Minister for Culture and Tourism and co-initiator of the African Social Forum. 'It wasn't just about putting us firmly in our place as recipients of charity, not actors in our own right. Africa's misery is a great product to sell, above all for companies, consultants and certain cultural actors and celebrities. Having African artists on the stage would have reduced the profit margins of promoters.'

Charles Abugre, the Ghanaian activist currently heading Christian Aid's policy team, is in no doubt that a broader ideological game is in play. 'I actually see Live 8 as part of a carefully orchestrated strategy by huge TNCs to divert attention away from their own culpability in Africa's poverty,' he says.

However, Kofi Mawuli Klu, chair of the Pan-African Task Force for Internationalist Dialogue (PATFID), is far more scathing of the celebrities. 'They are part of the age-old set of white supremacy racists seeking Cecil Rhodes-style personal hero status,' he asserts angrily. 'By playing at "Tarzan saving Africa", Geldof is simply following Blair in veiling the capitalist super-exploitation of African people all over the world, including refugees and descendants of enslaved Africans in the West, while profiteering from the continuing genocidal rape of Africa.'

At first glance, such claims would seem a little far-fetched. Bono and Geldof may be multi-millionaire businessmen with large egos, but over the years they have campaigned for 100 per cent debt cancellation, the international regulation of multinational companies and the end to forced liberalisation and privatisation – all to major public acclaim. In contrast to the Live Aid concerts 20 years ago, which were designed to raise awareness and money for the Ethiopian famine, the aim of Live 8 was openly political: to create a huge global media spectacle involving billions of people in order to bring unstoppable pressure on the G8 to cancel debt, boost aid and change trade rules to eradicate African poverty. Geldof had made this clear at the press launch of Live 8: 'We don't want your money. We want you.'

But the attitude of African civil society towards the Commission for Africa in which Geldof played a prominent role, and details about how he made Live 8 a reality, appear to tell a very different story about his motives. Writing in July's Red Pepper magazine, Yao Graham, co-ordinator of Third World Network-Africa, described the Commission as 'a new tool in the West's age-old scramble for Africa's natural wealth' with its blueprint to open up the continent's economies to further unregulated exploitation by multinational corporations

under IMF and World Bank control. Such a business-friendly outcome had been ensured by Blair's decision to grant huge input into the report from Western mining and oil multinationals like Anglo American, De Beers, Shell, Chevron Texaco and ExxonMobil, along with former IMF and World Bank officials. Unsurprisingly, the Commission's proposals were unreservedly rejected by a host of high-profile African organisations who launched their own 'Alternatives Commission for Africa' in Edinburgh on the eve of the Gleneagles G8. Geldof, however, took a different view, telling the Guardian newspaper: 'I don't know how much more radical or correct the report could get.'

Geldof's silencing of African voices did not stop there. Amid accusations of 'musical apartheid', he excluded African artists from the main London concert, saying Live 8 was 'not a cultural event' and only musicians with more than four million record sales could play, otherwise people in China would 'switch off'. After huge public criticism led by Blur's Damon Albarn and respected disc jockey Andy Kershaw, Geldof eventually gave his blessing to 'Africa Calling', a hastily arranged low-key Live 8 concert in Cornwall featuring African artists that was attended by just 5,000 people. One of these artists, Emmanuel Jal, the former Sudanese child soldier turned global hip-hop star, later told the Guardian that by silencing African self-representation, he and many other Africans had lost all respect for Geldof, adding 'it looks like he is making history by using the poor people'.

Jal's criticism is supported by members of the African coalition of G-CAP. 'When Bob Geldof and Richard Curtis announced that Live 8 was organising a concert in Johannesburg and that Mandela was appearing, the news came as a demoralising blow to us', explains Firoze Manji, the co-director of Fahamu, an African social justice network. Manji recounts how the African coalition had already planned a concert in Johannesburg in early July to be held in one of the townships to encourage maximum participation of the people who suffer the greatest effects of globalisation and neoliberal policies: 'It would not have featured Geldof and Comic Relief's paternalistic pity-based slogans.'

However, Manji claims that a private meeting in London of Kumi Naidoo, Director of Civicus, the South African-based global alliance for citizen participation, and chair of G-CAP, Oxfam GB, Curtis and Geldof, unilaterally cancelled the original concert in favour of the Live 8 event, throwing the African coalition into disarray. When a number of member organisations spoke out against the decision, a compromise was agreed that any new concert would not be branded as a Live 8 initiative and that the African campaign's slogans would be retained. However, Manji argues that a press release denying Geldof's claim to the Johannesburg concert was blocked at the last minute by Oxfam GB and Civicus, who then announced that Live 8 would go ahead, despite opposition of half the G-CAP membership, because this 'was what Richard Curtis and Live 8 wanted'. The concert, which cost some \$500,000 to stage, was attended by just 4,000 people and it has since emerged that Oxfam and Action Aid, who

together invested around \$150,000 in the event, have now refused to support September's follow-up concert in Accra, Ghana, which had been planned long before Live 8.

Many African members of MPH are now convinced that the exclusion of African artists from the main Hyde Park concert, and the cancelling of African-owned music concerts that didn't fit Geldof and Curtis's Live 8 vision, were designed to ensure that the British Government and its allies among the Northern aid agencies and celebrity campaigners, like Oxfam, Comic Relief, Richard Curtis and Geldof, could control the transmission of a single global message on 2 July in advance of the G8 summit: that the solutions to African poverty lay, not in the hands of Africans themselves, but the charitable acts of Western governments, NGOs and the rich and famous. 'A serious occasion was turned into a celebration of celebrities,' sighs Christian Aid's Charles Abugre. 'There were millions of people watching the concerts, but what was the analysis? What was the message? It was of handouts and charity, not one of liberation defined by Africans themselves or the reality that we are actually resisting neo-colonialism and neoliberalism ourselves.'

Live 8's corporate bonanza

The misrepresentation of the G8 summit and the silencing of African voices were apparently not the only contradictions in the anti-poverty campaign. 'The British music industry went out of its way to create the impression it was donating its services for free to the cause of Africa,' says John Beecher, director of Rollercoaster Records. 'The reality, of course, is very different. Everyone, from U2 and Madonna to the record companies and promoters, made a lot of money out of Live 8.'

In the first week following the concerts, almost every musical act appearing on the Live 8 stage enjoyed phenomenal rises in album sales. Pink Floyd's much-hyped reunification with former frontman Roger Waters after a bitter 20 year feud was a particularly big money-spinner – shop sales of their 'best of' album, *Echoes*, went up by 1,343 per cent. Others who did well included The Who (up by 863 per cent), Dido (412 per cent), Robbie Williams (320 per cent), Sting (300 per cent), Madonna (200 per cent), U2 (116 per cent) and Elton John (111 per cent). Corporate sponsors showered performers at Live 8 Philadelphia with expensive gifts totalling around \$12,000, including designer clothes and jewellery.

Doubtless embarrassed by the hypocrisy of having his \$120 million fortune enhanced from a charity concert, Pink Floyd's David Gilmour immediately called on his fellow Live 8 artists and their record companies to give away any related royalties and profits. British music group EMI, who paid a \$7 million advance for the highly lucrative exclusive DVD rights to 6 of the 10 concerts, has since made vague promises to pay a 'percentage' of any profits to charity. But only a handful of artists have followed suit, while most music companies and shops have been even less charitable.

Also profiting were the events companies contracted to re-sell corporate hospitality tickets for around \$2,000 each. Previously describing all those re-selling free Live 8 tickets on Internet auction site E-Bay as 'sick profiteers', and forcing the online company to ban the practice, Geldof was happy for companies like AOK Events to earn a 10 per cent commission for each hospitality ticket sold. His decision to allow Clear Channel to organise Live 8 also angered campaigners. The US's largest radio chain has strong links to the Bush Administration, promoting the pro-war 'Rallies for America' in 2003 and accused of censoring anti-war music acts like the Dixie Chicks, REM and Radiohead. It is rumoured that Geldof even sent an email to every Live 8 performer forbidding them to mention the Iraq war or criticise George Bush, a claim he later denied.

Then there are the individual corporate missionaries like multibillionaire Microsoft chairman, Bill Gates, introduced by Geldof to the millions watching Live 8 as 'the world's greatest philanthropist'. While Gates has donated billions of dollars worth of Microsoft computer operating systems and software to resource-poor African schools, charities and NGOs, critics argue that this is far from charitable in the context of the fierce competitive challenge to Microsoft from open source providers on the continent. Nor is Gates's funding of GM technology and research in Africa seen as a 'solution to food insecurity'. GM science is renowned for allowing corporations to patent, privatise and thus profit from indigenous food knowledge and is 'overwhelmingly rejected' by Africans as unsafe and unnecessary, according to Amadou Kanoute, Director of Consumers International Regional Office for Africa.

Yet media analysts believe that artist and record company profits will eventually be dwarfed by those accruing to the global corporations who won multimillion dollar contracts to broadcast exclusively or sponsor the free concerts, and help fund the estimated \$40 million cost of staging them. Some, like AOL-Time Warner, have done particularly well. The world's largest media company paid just under \$5 million for the exclusive online and US broadcast rights to screen what turned out to be the biggest Internet event in history, with a record five-million-plus hits. The advertising windfall was immediate: in the 48 hours following Live 8, 70 per cent of AOL's music traffic was reportedly coming from non-subscribers, compared with roughly 30 per cent before the event. And having proved the commercial value of online video streaming, just days after the concerts AOL launched Network Live, a new online, on-demand live entertainment joint venture that it is predicted will transform the web into a mass entertainment medium.

Another big winner was Nokia. Splashing out around \$7.5 million to become Live 8's global sponsor, Nokia used the event to consolidate its position as the world's biggest mobile phone company with 30 per cent of the global market and annual phone sales of over 200 million. Nokia's Tim Sexton told reporters: 'I think it's safe to say this is really one of the most ambitious and well-conceived global marketing efforts,

where we're threading the needle between content and brand extensions.' Yet while Nokia's accountants are smiling, African refugees living in London see Geldof's decision to allow the Swedish mobile phone company to associate itself with a political campaign for trade justice in Africa as a sick joke. 'Mobile phone companies like Nokia are fuelling the Civil War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,' says Muzemba Kukwikila, the Congolese chair of the London-based All-Afrikan People's Community Consultative Commission. 'Their voracious demand for the precious metals found in the Congo has pushed prices to crazy levels, encouraging those of the warring sides who use forced labour, rape and murder to extract and sell the resources to help finance their criminal operations.'

It is for this reason, and the decades of Western corporate exploitation and corruption in Africa that were reluctantly acknowledged by even Blair's Commission for Africa, that one of the key demands of the MPH campaign is the international regulation of multinational corporations. Live 8 organisers, however, appear to have had a very different agenda. PATFID's Kofi Mawuli Klu asserts that the sponsors assembled by Geldof 'form a roll-call of some of the most hated transnational corporations involved in the neocolonialist domination of Africa today'.

Companies like Nestlé, accused of promoting baby milk substitutes in violation of the World Health Organisation's guidelines and more recently exploiting the HIV/Aids epidemic in Africa to sell more milk substitute products to infected mothers; Rio Tinto, the world's largest mining corporation, widely condemned for its longstanding record of human rights and environmental abuses across the global South, and particularly well known to Africans for consistently defying international sanctions against apartheid in former Rhodesia in the 1970s; and Britain's biggest arms manufacturer, BAE Systems, whose export-led agenda, according to Mike Lewis of Britain's Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), is 'fuelling conflicts across Africa, with catastrophic impacts on development, and diverting spending away from health and education'. In 2001, the British Government promoted the sale of a BAE military air traffic control system to Tanzania, at a cost of \$46.8m to a country where half the population lacks access to clean water. 'Live 8 and BAE whitewashed an unwelcome message,' argues Lewis. 'That the British arms industry sustains African poverty, with the support of our government.'

Time to 'Make Geldof History'

Other members of the Make Poverty History campaign are furious. 'You wouldn't believe the battles we've had to fight over corporate involvement in the campaign,' explains a senior trade policy-maker in one of the larger development NGOs. 'As you can see, we lost'. NGOs' anger towards Geldof is exacerbated by the fact that while corporations were given free reign to advertise their brand names and logos at the 2 July concerts, charities were barred from hosting information booths or soliciting donations on the now dubious grounds that he wanted spectators to concentrate only on the

MPH campaign.

But accusations are now starting to fly that the former rock star, worth an estimated \$70 million, not only encouraged corporate profiteering but has himself personally profited from the G8's focus on Africa through his high-profile role in Blair's Commission for Africa and Live 8. In February of this year, Universal Music released a greatest hits album of Geldof's former band, Boomtown Rats, and digitally remastered versions of their six studio albums (ex-members of the Boomtown Rats are currently taking legal action against Geldof over alleged unpaid royalties on recording, publishing and merchandising income). In June, as the build-up to the G8 reached fever-pitch, he fronted a six-part BBC1 documentary series, *Geldof in Africa*, produced by his television company, Ten Alps. In the same month he launched a new bestselling book with the same title, retailing at \$35, and announced the Autumn re-release of his 1986 autobiography, *Is that it?*. As part of the deal, publisher Century/Random House won the exclusive world rights to the 'official' Live 8 book, agreeing to pay \$9 of every \$28 book sold to Live 8.

According to a BBC insider, Geldof's philanthropic self-portrait hides a hard-nosed businessman who never misses an opportunity to make money. 'Geldof has been very keen to tell anyone who'll listen that he never wanted to do the Geldof in Africa documentary series and it was the BBC who begged him to do it. The opposite was in fact true – Bob begged us to pay his company to do it.' Ten Alps is rapidly positioning itself as one of the key independent television companies in Britain, enjoying a 400 per cent increase in pre-tax profits last year. Its future growth will have been undoubtedly helped by the international exposure provided by Live 8 and Geldof's exploits, from which it is uniquely well-placed to profit. For instance, Ten Alps's events division provided two of the big screens for the Hyde Park concert, while its factual TV company, Brook Lapping, is becoming a specialist in African affairs and produced July's BBC2 three-hour documentary *Live Aid Remembered* that commemorated the 20th anniversary of the concerts. The company's success is especially good news for Geldof. He has an 8.3 per cent stake in the company and doubles up as an occasional presenter. Last year, he and his family received an additional \$220,000 for their services on specific television productions, augmenting his annual salary of around \$140,000 as a non-executive director.

Faced with these facts, many African campaigners now believe it is time for Geldof either to stand down or be toppled from the African solidarity movement. 'Those in the West who have a genuine concern about abject poverty in Africa and other parts of the world must finally listen to what Pan-African liberation activists have been saying for so long: most of these millionaire celebrities like Geldof are crocodile-tear-shedding poverty pimps trading in the distorted images of our impoverished African masses,' argues an angry Kofi Mawuli Klu. While Christian Aid's Charles Abugre does not use this language, he believes the coalition set the tone for the Live 8 whitewash and must now toughen its politics. 'So far, the campaign has been too superficial. It has been about the

more important than politics and we have placed too much emphasis on celebrities with strong connections to those in power. Consequently, we have not pursued a campaign of struggle against power.'

Interestingly, public criticism of Geldof, Bono and Richard Curtis is known to have deeply angered Oxfam and could be the pretext the aid agency uses to lead a break-away split from MPH. Given Oxfam's avowedly free-trade solutions to Third World poverty, and its leadership's uncomfortably close relationship to New Labour – as recently exposed by both the New Statesman and Red Pepper (2) – this scenario could be an encouraging development for efforts to realign MPH in the direction of the 'global justice movement'. But it will not be enough, for the spectacular failure of MPH cannot be laid at the door of Oxfam, Geldof and company alone. By being too dependent on corridor-lobbying, celebrities and the media, by failing to give voice and ownership of the campaign to Southern social movements, by watering down the radical consensus agreed by hundreds of grassroots movements both South and North at the World Social Forum and by politically legitimising the G8 summit, the campaign was doomed from the beginning. In the end, MPH proved little more than a convenient election-time distraction from the Iraq war for some of Labour's alienated middle-class voters.

Kofi Mawuli Klu argues that if MPH is to have any sort of future, it must radically reassess its political objectives and methods. 'If progressive NGOs are serious about radicalising the MPH campaign, they must now finally listen to what Pan-African community voices of resistance have been saying for decades: forget about lobbying the authors of our poverty and instead prioritise freedom-fighting against neo-colonialism and the demand for reparations as the basis for making poverty history.' Whether a radical anti-imperialist political agenda can be realistically pursued within the compromised world of development NGOs, however, remains to be seen.

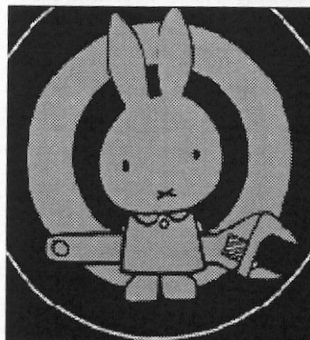
1 Thirty-eight countries are eligible for debt relief under the HIPC. The 18 to have reached completion point, and therefore qualify for immediate debt relief, are in bold: Angola, Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nicaragua, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tome, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

2 See Stuart Hodkinson, 'Inside the murky world of Make Poverty History', Znet, July 2005; Katherine Quarmby, 'Why Oxfam is failing Africa', New Statesman, 30 May 2005. This is a longer version of an article published in October's Z-Magazine. 'How rock stars betrayed the poor' can be found at <http://zmagsite.zmag.org>, this version was published in new internationalist magazine.

Stuart Hodkinson

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<http://www.newint.org/features/geldof-8/9-11-05.htm>



Scouting: Study the site of the action and keep up with changes. Before the action, study the area carefully. Chart safe routes in and out; look for hiding places, obstacles, potential targets, and surveillance cameras (including those in ATMs

and stoplights). Note how long it takes to travel key distances, and be aware of the visibility from and of key locations. How close are the authorities, how long will it take them to arrive? Can their approach be delayed? Who else is in the area? While scouting, be careful not to call attention to yourself or leave an obvious record of your passing. Be sure to do at least some of your scouting at the same time of day as the planned action, and if possible do a quick check immediately before it to make sure nothing has changed. If your action calls for daunting tasks, such as climbing a steep rooftop, it may be good to make an actual practice run at some point. Information can also be gathered from photos, maps, and brochures; aerial maps may be available on the internet. In some cases you can obtain information from a tourist center, or call and ask questions on a pretext (as a student doing a report, for example), or even receive a guided tour. Once you've collected a lot of information, it can be helpful to consolidate the important parts into a map suited to your needs. Be careful to dispose of all your paperwork securely.

Roles: Divide up responsibilities and set up decision-making structures

Establish all the roles necessary to pull off your plan, and make sure every one of these is filled. Roles might include lookouts, scouts, police liaisons, media spokespeople, internal ("embedded") media, legal aid contacts, legal observers, medics, distractions, "plants" (for example, people disguised as innocent bystanders who are ready to intervene if necessary, or who will politely honk their horns while a barricade is erected in front of them), getaway drivers, people to transport materials, people to receive information and make tactical decisions, and people to carry out the actual action. In some situations, it is wise to have understudies for important roles, in case it turns out at the last minute that someone can't participate.

INSIDE THE MURKY WORLD OF THE UK'S MAKE POVERTY HISTORY CAMPAIGN

Make Poverty History would seem an unprecedented success story. Uniting trade unions, charities, NGOs and a stellar cast of celebrities, its cause is dominating media coverage, while the campaign's record-selling white wristband is being worn the world over. So why, as the G8 summit approaches, are leading members briefing against each other to the press and African social movements saying nothing about us, without us?

For a sun-soaked Friday in late May, there was an unusual air of panic at the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) for the monthly members' assembly of Make Poverty History (MPH). Officials hurriedly briefed reception with some last-minute security instructions: "You must make sure that only assembly members are let in," one instructed. "The meeting is open to the public, but only public members of Make Poverty History."

The nerves were understandable. Two damning stories about MPH were about to break in the British national press. The cover story of British centre-left weekly, *New Statesman*, 'Why Oxfam is failing Africa', had exposed deep anger among members of the MPH coalition at Oxfam's 'revolving door' relationship with UK government officials and policies, accusing it of allowing Britain's two most powerful politicians, Prime Minister Tony Blair and Chancellor Gordon Brown, to co-opt MPH as a front for New Labour's own questionable anti-poverty drive.

The right-wing *Sunday Telegraph*, meanwhile, had given notice of its shocking exclusive on how large numbers of the ubiquitous MPH white wristband - the very symbol of the campaign - had been knowingly sourced from Chinese sweatshops with Oxfam's blessing.

Inside MPH, however, the embarrassing revelations were no surprise. For the past six months, some of the UK's leading development and environmental NGOs have been increasingly vocal in their unease about a campaign high on celebrity octane but low on radical politics. One insider, active in a key MPH working group, argues there "has often been a complete divergence between the democratically agreed message of our public campaign and the actual spin that greets the outside world". He is angry:

"Our real demands on trade, aid and debt, and criticisms of UK government policy in developing countries have been consistently swallowed up by white bands, celebrity luvvies and praise upon praise for Blair and Brown being ahead of other world leaders on these issues."

This is surely not what campaigners had in mind back in late 2003 when Oxfam initiated a series of informal meetings with charities and campaigning organisations to consider forming an unprecedented coalition against poverty in 2005 to coincide with the UK presidency of both the G8 summit and EU, the first five year evaluation of progress on the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed in 2000, the 6th WTO Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong, and the 20th anniversary of Live Aid.

In September 2004, the Make Poverty History coalition was officially launched as the UK mobilisation of an international coalition, the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (G-CAP), led by Oxfam International, Action Aid and DATA - the controversial Africa charity set up by U2 frontman, Bono and multi-billionaires, George Soros, and Microsoft's Bill Gates, the world's second richest person with a fortune of just under \$50 billion.

Since then, MPH has become an impressive campaigning coalition, boasting over 460 member organisations including all the major trade unions and the TUC, development NGOs, charities, churches as well as several faith and diaspora groups. Its successful mix of celebrity backers and anti-poverty message has captured the attention of both politicians and mass media, encapsulated in the near-hysteria following the announcement by veteran rock star and Africa campaigner, Bob Geldof, that a series of free concerts in London, Paris, Philadelphia, Rome, and Berlin would take place under the banner 'Live 8' to coincide with the MPH campaign to lobby the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland in July.

But despite the success, there is widespread unhappiness within the coalition over the campaign's public face and its cosiness to Blair and Brown. Critics argue that on paper at least, MPH's policy demands on the UK government are fairly radical, especially its calls for "trade justice not free trade", which would require G8 and EU countries, notably the UK, to stop forcing through free market policies on poor countries as part of aid, trade deals or debt relief. MPH also says rich countries should immediately double aid by \$50bn per year and finally meet 35-year old promises to spend 0.7 per cent of their national income in development aid. More and better aid, meanwhile, should be matched by cancellation of the "unpayable" debts of the world's poorest countries through a "fair and transparent international process" that uses new money, not slashed aid budgets. With additional calls for the regulation of multinationals and the democratisation of the IMF and World Bank, John Hilary, Campaigns Director of UK development NGO, War on Want, has a point when he asserts that MPH's policies "strike at the very heart of the neo-liberal agenda."

The problem, however, is that when these policies are relayed to a public audience, they become virtually indistinguishable from those of the UK government. This was brought home back in March this year when Blair's deeply compromised Commission for Africa set out its neoliberal proposals for the corporate plunder of Africa's human and natural resources under the identical headlines used by MPH - 'trade justice', 'drop the debt' and 'more and better aid'. In return, most MPH members, led by Oxfam and the TUC, warmly welcomed the report's recommendations. As Ghana's Yao Graham makes clear in July's *Red Pepper*, African civil society is far less enamoured with the Commission's report, which he argues lays out a blueprint for "the new scramble for Africa".

Thanks to the *New Statesman* exposé, much of the blame is placed on the leadership of...

and most powerful development agency. Despite its pro-poor image around the world, over the last two decades, Oxfam has become a feeder school for government special advisers and World Bank officials and has a particularly close relationship with New Labour. Blair's special advisor on international development, Justin Forsyth, was previously Oxfam's campaigns manager. Forsyth's opposite number at the Treasury is Oxfam board member, Shriti Vadera, a former director at the US bank, UBS Warburg, and specialist in public-private partnerships, a policy that litters the Africa Commission's report. Less well known is John Clark, who left Oxfam for the World Bank in 1992 to join the World Bank where he was responsible for the Bank's co-optation strategy with civil society before advising Tony Blair in 2000 on his "Africa Partnership Initiative" that directly led to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001. At the heart of MPH is Oxfam's Sarah Kline, a former World Bank official who champions the organisation's 'constructive dialogue' approach with the IMF and World Bank.

Oxfam's political independence from neoliberal governance is also compromised by the £40m or so of its annual income that comes from government or other public funds. Nearly £14m alone originates from the Department for International Development (DfID), which is a major champion of privatisation and its benefits for UK companies in developing countries. In this, Oxfam is of course by no means alone - almost every development NGO in Britain is on DfID's payroll. While it is possible to take and use government money progressively while being critical of the donor's policies, such large amounts of government funding inevitably influence how far Oxfam will stick its neck out politically and risk future funding cuts.

Oxfam's unrivalled financial resources and existing public profile make it by far the most powerful organisation in the MPH coalition. Last year, Oxfam's annual income surpassed £180m - three times the amount received by its nearest rival, Christian Aid, and dwarfing more social movement-oriented development NGOs like WDM and War on Want who punch way above their weight on just over £1m each. Such wealth disparity inevitably translates into the direction taken by the coalition, especially its public image. Oxfam's army of press officers, researchers and campaign officers can naturally take advantage of the huge media opportunities generated by the campaign.

But making Oxfam the scapegoat for MPH's co-optation by New Labour misses the key role played by Comic Relief and its celebrity co-founder, the film director, Richard Curtis. As one of Britain's most prolific and brilliant comedy writers, Curtis shot to fame in the 1980s with the TV series *Blackadder*, and has since penned hits like *Mr Bean*, *The Vicar of Dibley*, and the blockbuster movie, *Four Weddings and a Funeral*. With wealth and fame has come enormous political clout. In 2001, British centre-left daily broadsheet, *The Guardian*, ranked him the 10th most powerful person in the UK media industry, ahead of every national newspaper editor, Paul Dacre of the *Daily Mail*.

Curtis's personal commitment to raising money for Africa goes back to 1985 when, at the height of the Ethiopian famine, he visited refugee camps as a guest of Oxfam. It was a life-changing experience and on his return to London persuaded showbiz friends to set up Comic Relief, the celebrity-led charity that uses the medium of comedy to raise both awareness about poverty, famine and disease in Africa, and huge sums of money to such causes.

Despite its incredible success in bringing in the bacon - over £337m since its inception - Comic Relief's live televised shows every two years are also criticised for their distinct lack of politics and inaccurate portrayal of Africa as a continent-come-country ravaged by natural disasters and warring tribes - the roles of colonialism, IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes and Western corporations don't get a look in.

Comic Relief's apolitical approach to Africa is deeply important to the fractious debate inside MPH. For while Bono and Geldof get the limelight and Oxfam dominates the policy agenda, it is Richard Curtis who is in the driving seat of MPH's all-important publicity machine.

Curtis's power partly lies in the financial and human resources he brings to the campaign. He has personally ensured the bankrolling of MPH, convincing Scottish multi-millionaire business tycoon, Sir Tom Hunter, to donate a £1m to the campaign, and advertising executives to donate more than £4m of free airtime. This helped propel his 'Click' advert worldwide in which global film and music mega-stars, like George Clooney, Bono and Kylie Minogue, kitted out in full white T-shirt and wristband regalia, click their fingers every three seconds to mark another child dying in Africa. Curtis has used his unrivalled celebrity address book to ensure that MPH's platforms, events and entire PR strategy are dripping with celebrities.

While most MPH members gratefully accept that Curtis's celebrity support has been integral to the campaign's phenomenal marketing success (sales of the MPH white wristband are nearly 4 million and the website gets thousands of hits a minute), some believe it has come with too heavy a price. First there's the dubious role of Sir Tom Hunter, no ordinary sharp-dressed philanthropist. Worth £678m, his Hunter Foundation charity is an evangelical force behind public-private partnerships and child entrepreneurialism in Scotland. Since 2001, it has helped fund the Scottish Executive's Schools Enterprise Programme in which the private sector helps groom children as young as five in the wonders of business.

Ewan Hunter, CEO of The Hunter Foundation, rejects this characterisation of the scheme as "completely erroneous", and claims it is "a world leading initiative" to support a "can do" attitude in children: "For the record we consult widely with the relevant trade unions, councils, governments, teachers and children before agreeing any investment in education." Note he doesn't actually refute the business-child

relationship.

Tom Hunter recently caused a storm even in the right-wing tabloid press when he began selling special edition charity Live 8-MPH white wristbands stamped with the logos of six global fashion brands, including Hilfiger Denim whose owner, Tommy Hilfiger Corporation, is accused by labour right campaigners of sourcing its clothes from anti-union sweatshops in Latin America and the East Asia.

According to Stephen Coats, Executive Director of the Chicago-based US/Labor Education in the Americas Project that monitors and supports the basic rights of workers in Latin America, Hilfiger's labour record falls short of minimum standards:

"In our experience, Tommy Hilfiger is at the bottom of the list in demonstrating refusal to accept responsibility for the way workers are treated."

Back in October 2003, the company was accused by labour rights campaigners of cutting and running from its responsibilities to workers when evidence was uncovered of labour abuses at the Tarrant blue jean factory in Ajalpan, Mexico.

The revelations have once again left Make Poverty History campaigners angry at the contamination of their high-profile symbol by its association with anti-labour companies.

War on Want's John Hilary speaks for many inside MPH when he says that unless Hilfiger had suddenly reformed without them knowing "it's not the sort of company we'd want to be associated with".

Then there's Abbot Mead Vickers (AMV), the UK's largest advertising agency that has previously worked for Comic Relief and has been brought in to help with the campaign's communication strategy. Among AMV's many 'politically incorrect' proposals rejected by incensed MPH members was a high-profile billboard campaign in which images of Ghandi and Nelson Mandela would sit alongside Gordon Brown, with the caption '2005...?'. The ad's message was clear: this could be the year in which Brown himself becomes a 'man of history', cajoling the G8 into the ultimate sacrifice of dropping Africa's debt to take his place alongside two martyrs of anti-colonialism.

Unsurprisingly, this ridiculous proposal to draw an equivalence between those whose lives were dedicated to fighting white supremacist imperialism, and a man who wants to turn Africa into a giant free trade zone on behalf of Western multinationals, was blocked by several incensed Make Poverty History members. But such insensitivity comes with the turf: AMV's corporate clients not only include Pepsi Cola, Pfizer, Sainsbury, Camelot, and the Economist but also, ironically, Diageo, the drinks multinational which happens to own the Gleneagles Hotel where the G8 leaders will be meeting, and is a major investor in Africa.

According to Lucy Michaels from UK-based research and

campaigning organisation, Corporate Watch, Diageo has a track record of lobbying OECD and G8 countries to push for greater investment liberalisation in developing countries and its PR activities in Africa are deeply controversial:

"Diageo aggressively promotes its products in Africa by attacking one of the continent's key micro-scale industries - home brewing. It recently released its 'Corporate Citizenship Report for East Africa' in which it labelled unbranded alcohol as posing severe 'health and social risks', despite evidence from the International Centre of Alcohol Policies, incidentally funded by Diageo, that 'illicit' brew is generally of good quality and is vital to the household and local economy."

But the most destructive aspect of Curtis's involvement, critics argue, has been his personal intervention in the public communications of MPH to ensure that the politics are routinely buried by the personality as part of his own personal and completely unaccountable strategy to change G8 policy: "Richard's philosophy has become painfully obvious to everyone in MPH," one critic argues. "He believes that we should support the efforts of the UK government to bring other G8 countries into its line on aid and debt, and is adamant that Brown and Blair should not be criticised."

A few months ago, tensions came to a head when members challenged the discrepancy between MPH's agreed position and the campaign's pro-government public face. The response from a key Comic Relief official was that Curtis "found it difficult" to turn against the government because of his personal friendship with Gordon Brown. The extent of the Curtis-Brown relationship was revealed on primetime national television on Saturday 25 June in Curtis's BBC 1 film, *The Girl in the Café* (bizarrely announced as being shown across Africa).

A love story between Gina, an idealistic young campaigner, and Lawrence, an adviser to a tough but caring Gordon Brown-style Chancellor, who helps his new lover get an audience with world leaders at a pretend G8 summit in Iceland and inspires the UK government to insist on 'making poverty history'. Brown even attended the Scottish premiere of the film in May at an event organised by MPH paymaster, Tom Hunter, who has since been knighted in the Queen's Birthday Honours List.

Against this background, it is little wonder that a number of NGOs in MPH have recently felt forced to try to undermine the Oxfam-Curtis-Brown axis by making their displeasure known to the press. The ensuing fall out led to MPH members agreeing to quickly distance the coalition from the government by rushing forward by several weeks a report criticising UK government policy. However, the respite was only temporary. The coup de grâce came in a recent announcement that Gordon Brown has been invited to the 2 July rally in Edinburgh.

Frustration would not perhaps be so intense if there was real pluralism and democracy in MPH.

But as the G8 draws near, MPH apparatchiks have gone to extraordinary lengths to ensure that come the 2 July rally in Edinburgh, only the branded, monolithic message and speakers of MPH are seen and heard.

MPH's website fails to even acknowledge the other protests, events and groups like Dissent, Trident Ploughshares and G8Alternatives, but who themselves are actively encouraging everyone to go and support the MPH rally. The MPH Coordinating Team, which includes Oxfam, Comic Relief and the TUC, has also twice unanimously vetoed the Stop the War Coalition's (STWC) application to join MPH on the Orwellian grounds that the issues of economic justice and development are separate from that of war, and STWC's participation in Edinburgh on 2 July would confuse the message. It will be interesting, then, to see if Oxfam bans itself - it is currently leading a global campaign for an international arms treaty on the basis that "uncontrolled arms fuels poverty and suffering".

STWC has since been banned from even having a stall at the MPH rally. A leaked email in late May to MPH from Milipedia, the 'ethical' events management company helping to organise the MPH rally, asks the coalition to "consider the desirability / strategy for removing people from our event who are setting up unwanted stalls, ad hoc events, facilities etc" and to draw up a list "of the likely infiltrators and decide what we're prepared to tolerate and at what point we draw the line and what action we want to take". This followed a tip-off that the Socialist Party (formerly Militant Tendency) is planning to sell its newspaper on the Edinburgh rally, shout slogans through megaphones and wear red MakeCapitalismHistory T-shirts and wristbands (Red Pepper, incidentally, will be wearing 'Make the G8 History' T-shirts on the day).

The email also recounts how, in response to Stop the War's announced intention to lead a break away rally at 4.30pm on 2 July, the local council, the police and MPH organisers are working together to ensure that STWC would be denied their own stage in order to retain "our ownership of the event and our key messaging".

This is not just about political domination. Part of MPH's concern lies in the perceived threat to its monopoly of all commercial trade taking place on the day - the coalition has taken out a market traders licence for the 2 July that will solely benefit the coalition's members and empowers MPH to move illegal traders, including political activists, off the site. Comic Relief has also registered the MakePovertyHistory slogan as a trademark with the European Union and is threatening to take action against "any misuse or alleged of the Trademark".

But concerns about MPH lie much deeper than the political divisions within the UK development scene. The most obvious question, increasingly on the lips of even mainstream journalists, is where are the voices of African civil society, and other social movements of the Global South, in a campaign that is supposedly about them?

Kofi Maluwi Klu, a leading Ghanaian Pan-African activist and international coordinator of Jubilee 2000 Africa Campaign in the late 1990s, is angered by MPH's lack of representativeness: "We have a saying in the African liberation movement - 'nothing about us, without us'. Make Poverty History is a massive step backwards in this regard, even from Jubilee 2000. The campaign is overwhelmingly led by Northern NGOs and its basic message is about white millionaire popstars saving Africa's helpless. The political movements still fighting for liberation on the ground are completely erased".

The absence of the South in the leadership of MPH inevitably translates into the campaign's politics. For instance, Southern NGO's and movements are generally critical of making demands on the G8: "The G8 is a completely illegitimate and unaccountable body of global governance; its governments and corporations are historically responsible for most of the problems of developing countries, and remain so today" say Nicola Bullard, of the Bangkok-based Focus on the Global South, the respected international non-government policy research and advocacy organisation. "Lobbying the G8 contradicts the very clear call made by hundreds of social movements, NGOs and trade unions from the South and the North at this year's World Social Forum to mobilise protests against the G8 summit."

The same is true for MPH's policy demands. While Southern movements welcome MPH's more holistic development agenda to Jubilee 2000's single issue campaign for debt relief, they argue that its position on debt contradicts what grassroots African and other Southern campaigners are demanding: "MPH is calling for 100 per cent cancellation of the unpayable debts of the poorest countries - but so is the UK government," explains Jubilee South's Brian Ashley. "This does not address the 'illegitimacy of the debt' in the first place, the fact that many South countries' debts were either a hangover from colonialism or came from the huge hike in interest rates during the 1970s and 80s, and have been paid back many times over, making the South the creditor of the North. We demand the total, unconditional and immediate cancellation of all Southern country debts, not just those of the very poorest as MPH requests."

For Southern debt campaigners, the debate is almost identical to the one that led back in 1999, to the North-South split in the Jubilee 2000 movement and the creation of the Jubilee South network, which today brings together more than 80 debt campaigns, social movements and peoples' organisations from more than 40 countries across Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia/Pacific. Jubilee South's founding principle was to create stronger South-South solidarity, to strengthen the collective voice, presence and leadership of the South in the international debt movement and lay the basis for global social transformation from the bottom-up.

While MPH is part of the Global Call for Action on Poverty (G-CAP) that has a Southern dimension in its leadership, dozens of Southern-based groups, including Jubilee South and Focus on the Global South, have refused to be part of

G-CAP, declining's Oxfam and Action Aid's invitation to the September 2004 Johannesburg meeting that eventually launched the coalition. "Jubilee South decided not to go for the fairly simple reason that you don't launch a campaign on behalf of the South without fully briefing, consulting and working with Southern networks first," says Brian Ashley. Nicola Bullard concurs, adding: "Focus on the Global South saw the Jo'burg meeting as a way to get a lot of radical groups and grassroots movements to give legitimacy to a pre-determined, Northern-led campaign. We believe you have to mobilise and construct movements from the bottom-up".

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of MPH's blending of its message with that of the government's, and its exclusion of critics North and South, is that it enables the state and media to draw a sharp line in the sand between the 'good protester' attending the 2 July Edinburgh rally, and the 'bad protester' - anyone who is contemplating engaging in civil disobedience against what is, after all, an illegitimate institution and set of governments responsible for the deaths of millions of innocent people each year.

Those UK development NGOs unhappy with MPH's direction know this only too well, but refuse to publicly walk away from a campaign that is actively derailing the global justice movement. Although it may sound cynical, the reason is simple: MPHHistory is a money-spinner. "Although we hate the message and the corporate branding, some NGOs are making thousands of pounds through the wristbands," one arch critic admitted. "We have loads of new people on our database interested in our campaigns, and because the issues of trade, debt and aid are now suddenly sexy again, we have new funding bodies approaching us to do projects and research. MPH is paying for my job for the next 3 years."

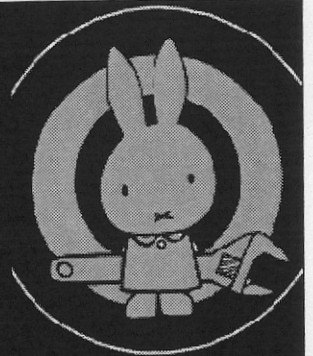
This, at the end of the day, is the NGO bottom-line and that is what MPHHistory is all about - helping the world's poor in ways that guarantee your own organisational survival. By riding the MPH money-spinning tiger in the hope of becoming stronger, the UK's most respected development NGOs like Christian Aid, War on War and World Development Movement, are themselves in danger of becoming completely detached from their African comrades at a crucial time for unity against the New Labour, the G8 and their plan to carve up Africa's natural wealth for Western corporations.

This must not be allowed to happen. It is still not too late for Make Poverty History's dissenting voices to quit en masse and use this symbolic power to inspire the millions of Make Poverty History members to resist the G8, and push Geldof, Bono, Curtis and co to at least use their media influence to criticise G8 policy. Otherwise, the only thing they are likely to be consigning to history is Africa itself.

Stuart Hodkinson

<http://www.redpepper.org.uk/global/x-jul05-hodkinson.htm>

This is especially true if you don't know in advance what the date of your action will be—for example, if it is to coincide with the beginning of a war not yet declared.



Diplomacy: Consider the way the action will affect

If your action is taking place during or as part of a larger event, there may be large meetings at which different groups try to coordinate their efforts; these can be useful, but they tend to consume a lot of time and energy, so make sure you go into them knowing exactly what you hope to accomplish. Whether you're acting in the midst of thousands of other activists or far away from anyone, take into account the way your actions will affect other people. Will your actions endanger others? Will they provoke police repression? If so, will others bear the brunt of it, and is it possible to offset this? Will your actions make it more difficult for other people to do important work in a given community? Are there negotiations or reassurances that should be made to others before, during, or after the action? Honor all agreements you make with other groups; some might be willing to help you, with or without knowledge of the specific details of what you're doing. Over time, if you prove reliable and considerate, you'll build alliances with them.

During and After the Action Awareness: Stay alert throughout the action

Awareness is key to the success of any action. Often, the atmosphere and the conditions that determine it can change very quickly. It is important to keep up with what is going on around you, and to have established in advance how you will react to a given scenario. For example, is the arrival of one police car a big deal? How about ten? Is it common for police to tail marchers in this city? While you can never be certain of exactly what will happen, going over possible scenarios in advance and having an idea of how your group wants to deal with them will give everyone a more solid idea of how to react—and how not to overreact—as the situation develops. When informing others of a development, announce the raw information, not the conclusions you may have drawn from it ("The police are putting on gas masks," not "They're going to gas us!"), so others can draw their own conclusions. Resist the urge to panic, and the tendency to get carried away as well.

Communications: Keep each other informed. During the action, scouts can keep track of changes in the terrain such as arriving police, crowd movements, others' activities nearby, and safe zones. They can use communication systems such as cell phones, text messaging,

Africa's new best friends: The corporations which helped to immiserate Africa are being given control of its development.

I began to realise how much trouble we were in when Hilary Benn, the Secretary of State for International Development, announced that he would be joining the Make Poverty History march on Saturday. What would he be chanting?, I wondered. "Down with me and all I stand for"?

Benn is the man in charge of using British aid to persuade African countries to privatise their public services: wasn't the march supposed to be a protest against policies like his? But its aims were either expressed or interpreted so loosely that anyone could join. This was its strength and its weakness. The Daily Mail ran pictures of Gordon Brown and Bob Geldof on its front page, with the headline "Let's Roll", showing that nothing either Live8 or Make Poverty History has done so far represents a threat to power. The G8 leaders and the business interests their summit promotes can absorb our demands for aid, debt, even slightly fairer terms of trade, and lose nothing. They can wear our colours, speak our language, claim to support our aims, and discover in our agitation not new constraints, but new opportunities for manufacturing consent. Justice, this consensus says, can be achieved without confronting power.

They invite our representatives to share their stage, we invite theirs to share ours. The economist Noreena Hertz offers, according to the commercial speakers' agency that hires her, "real solutions for businesses and individuals. Hertz teaches companies how to be smart and avoid the frictions which surface when corporate interests conflict with private life ... the political right is not necessarily wrong".(1) Then she stands on the Make Poverty History stage and calls for poverty to be put at the top of the agenda. There is, as far as some of the MPH organisers are concerned, no contradiction: the new consensus denies that there's a conflict between ending poverty and business as usual.

The G8 leaders have seized this opportunity with both hands. Multinational corporations, they argue, are not the cause of Africa's problems, but the solution. From now on, they will be responsible for the relief of poverty.

In the United States, they have already been given control of the primary instrument of US policy towards Africa, the African Growth and Opportunity Act. The act is a fascinating compound of professed philanthropy and raw self-interest. To become eligible for help, African countries must bring about "a market-based economy that protects private property rights", "the elimination of barriers to United States trade and investment" and a conducive environment for US "foreign policy interests".(2) In return they will be allowed "preferential treatment" for some of their products in US markets.

The important word is "some". Clothing factories in Africa will be allowed to sell their products to the US as long as they

or if they avoid direct competition with US products. The act, treading carefully around the toes of US manufacturing interests, is comically specific. Garments containing elastic strips, for example, are eligible only if the elastic is "less than 1 inch in width and used in the production of brassieres."(3) Even so, African countries' preferential treatment will be terminated if it results in "a surge in imports".

It goes without saying that all this is classified as foreign aid. The act instructs the US Agency for International Development to develop "a receptive environment for trade and investment". What is more interesting is that its implementation has been outsourced to another agency, the Corporate Council on Africa.

The CCA is the lobby group representing the big US corporations with interests in Africa: Halliburton, Exxon Mobil, Coca-Cola, General Motors, Starbucks, Raytheon, Microsoft, Boeing, Cargill, Citigroup and others.(4) For the CCA, what is good for General Motors is good for Africa: "until African countries are able to earn greater income," it says, "their ability to buy U.S. products will be limited."(5) The US State Department has put it in charge of training African governments and businesses.(6) The CCA runs the US government's annual forum for African business, and hosts the Growth and Opportunity Act's steering committee.(7)

Now something very similar is being rolled out in the United Kingdom. Today the Business Action for Africa summit will open in London with a message from Tony Blair. It is chaired by Sir Mark Moody Stuart, the head of Anglo American, and its speakers include executives from Shell, British American Tobacco, Standard Chartered Bank, De Beers and the Corporate Council on Africa.(8) One of its purposes is to inaugurate the Investment Climate Facility, a \$550m fund which will be financed by the UK's foreign aid budget, the World Bank and the other G8 nations, but "driven and controlled by the private sector".(9) The fund will be launched by Niall Fitzgerald, currently head of Reuters, but formerly chief executive of Unilever, and before that Unilever's representative in apartheid South Africa.(10) He wants the facility, he says, to help create a "healthy investment climate" which will offer companies "attractive financial returns compared to competing destinations."(11) Anglo American and Barclays have already volunteered to help.(12)

Few would deny that one of the things Africa needs is investment. But investment by many of our multinationals has not enriched its people but impoverished them. The history of corporate involvement in Africa is a history of forced labour, evictions, murder, wars, the under-costing of resources, tax evasion and collusion with dictators. Nothing in either the Investment Climate Facility or the Growth and Opportunity Act imposes mandatory constraints on corporations. While their power and profits in Africa will be enhanced with the help of our foreign aid budgets, they will be bound only by voluntary commitments: of the kind that have been in place since 1976 and have proved useless.(13)

Just as Gordon Brown's "moral crusade" encourages us to forget the armed crusade he financed, so the state-sponsored rebranding of the companies working in Africa prompts us to forget what Shell has been doing in Nigeria, what Barclays and Anglo American and De Beers have done in South Africa, and what British American Tobacco has done just about everywhere. From now on, the G8 would like us to believe, these companies will be Africa's best friends. In the name of making poverty history, the G8 has given a new, multi-headed East India Company a mandate to govern the continent.

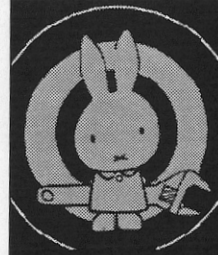
Without a critique of power, our campaign, so marvellously and so disastrously inclusive, will merely enhance this effort. Debt, unfair terms of trade and poverty are not causes of Africa's problems but symptoms. The cause is power: the ability of the G8 nations and their corporations to run other people's lives. Where, on the Live8 stages and at the rally in Edinburgh, was the campaign against the G8's control of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations? Where was the demand for binding global laws for multinational companies?

At the Make Poverty History march, the speakers insisted that we are dragging the G8 leaders kicking and screaming towards our demands. It seems to me that the G8 leaders are dragging us dancing and cheering towards theirs.

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two-way radios, or whistles to keep in touch; audio or visual signals such as car horns or fireworks can also be useful. A police scanner can be used to monitor police communications. To make communication more efficient, scouts can report to an individual or sub-group in the center of the action; in a larger setting, they can phone in their findings to a central information hub, which others can call with questions. Just as communications equipment can make you more efficient and effective, it also increases the risk of surveillance. You can use codes and code names, but be judicious—complicated codes are easy to forget, and prosecutors can argue that your codes meant something more drastic than they actually did. Even if no other communication system is used, it can be useful to have the option of an "abort" signal for emergencies.

Dispersal: Quit while you're ahead

A safe escape is the most commonly overlooked part of direct action organizing. Be sure to have an exit strategy worked out in advance. If you'll be in a large group, especially with others who haven't been part of the planning process, think about how to avoid the herd mentality that keeps crowds together after it would be better to split up.

Know when to press your advantage, and when to quit—when to run as fast as you can, and when to walk nonchalantly. Discard anything that could incriminate you, if possible in a place it will not be found; wait to change your clothes until you're sure you're no longer under observation. If need be, gather in a safe place afterwards and make sure everyone is accounted for; collect bail money, seek outside assistance, write press releases. While everyone involved is still around, get contact information for anyone who might be able to testify or provide documentation to assist arrestees.

Debriefing: Regroup to discuss what went well and what lessons can be learned

After the action, destroy any evidence that could be used against you; keep tools that could be tied to the action in a hiding place outside your home. Get together in a secure setting and go over what happened. Follow up on ongoing matters, such as supporting those with court cases, providing further clarification to the public as to the goals of and ideas behind the action, and sorting out conflicts. Celebrate your victories, offer each other constructive criticism, learn from your mistakes, and lay plans for the next project.

One month into the renewed invasion of Iraq the unholy trinity, of George W Bush, Tony Blair & Bertie Ahern held a jamboree at Hillsborough Castle Northern Ireland. Their brief was to simultaneously give a 'boost' to the Northern Ireland 'Peace Process' & hold to a 'War Summit' on Iraq (& all without a hint of irony...)

The who we are preamble: 'we' in the following text refers to a loose network of groups & individuals organising from 'our kitchen' meetings; a regular get together for people involved in autonomous action & organising in Belfast.

Well y'know there's nothing like a war to rally the troops... Since the renewed invasion of Iraq on March the 20th 2003 we'd been pulling off all sorts of anti-war activity in Belfast including sit downs, die-ins, marches, pickets, Food Not Bombs, bike demos, petrol station blockades, military base blockades, peace parties, vigils, street theatre, info stalls, shadow painting, spray painting, stickering, posterage & subvertising.

There was a widespread opposition to the war. You could feel it in the streets. Belfast is a pretty small but in my 10 year love affair with the city this was perhaps one of the most intense periods of activism, with large numbers of people organising in a non-hierarchical fashion.

Inside The Ring Of Steel

07 April 03

It was around three days before the event that the media announced George Bush was coming to Northern Ireland. So we didn't have a lot of time to get plans together...

I guess our first 'lucky break' was that the Gluesacht AGM was being held that weekend held in Belfast. (Gluesacht – Gaelic word for 'movement' – is/was a loosely student based network of eco-groups & individuals in Ireland). So yeah, being in a room with about 9 of your 'top ten people you'd want in an affinity group' took some of the edge of the ensuing panic for all the things we'd gotta organise.

Pretty much immediately after the announcement a scout crew headed out to Hillsborough, a small town about 20k from Belfast where the War Summit was to take place, & stumbled upon our next lucky break. Right next to Hillsborough Castle (the venue) was a Quaker Meeting House...

We already had a base for our operations in the social centre some of us were involved in running the aptly named 'Warzone Centre'. We'd been holding weekly 'our kitchen' meetings to organise autonomous anti-war (& other) actions, & we just opened up a new info-shop/organising space. We had space for people to crash, get food, make banners & props. We organised some NVDA training, had get togethers to organise affinity groups, set up some legal support & some space for Indymedia. Some of us even planned an escape route over the roof of the neighbouring buildings in case we came under attack from police or the secret service or

We had some interesting discussions about what level of police surveillance/repression we might expect, how open we wanted to be about any actions we might plan. We tried not to get paralysed by paranoia, & keep our communications as open as possible, whilst keeping sensitive info close to our chests. We also relied on the fact that most of the time we had no idea what the fuck we were doing, so god help anyone trying to eavesdrop on our plans...

We did have some funny über paranoid moments though; like when we were sure that secret service were staking the building as there were all these cars with blacked out windows & men in suits with long coats, when someone pointed out they were from the funeral directors round the corner.

The media was full of reports of the Ring of Steel being built around Hillsborough town to stop protest getting too close to Bush & Blair. The town was referred to as a sterile zone. The trade union/socialist led 'Stop The War Coalition' was mobilising for a March up to the barricades. We decided to form a number of affinity groups & get inside...

We hired a car & 4 of us got dropped off just outside the town. The Quakers had been kind enough to organise a 'prayer meeting for peace' in the afternoon. The ring of steel looked rather concrete as military bulldozers moved huge concrete bollards across the road blocking it off. We walked past & were fairly soon stopped & questioned by the police. We informed the cops we were there for the prayer meeting, acted cool when they checked out our story, & they let us through. Another group of four also got through on the same pretext.

The town centre of Hillsborough consists of a long steep street leading uphill to the castle. As we walked up the streets where pretty empty apart from cops, & men in long coats with earpieces (we hoped they weren't undertakers...) we got to the Quaker house & hid out...

Y'know breaching the security of these kind of events is in itself pretty cool. But it's good to give a bit of forethought as to what you're gonna do when you're in there; when it's just you & the police, the secret service & a few residents of the town waving flags to welcome Bush & Blair. We planned a die-in in front of Bush's car but somehow it all seemed a bit futile.

If we try to stop Bush's car will we get near? Can we still get green cards? Will we get shot? When a tree falls in the forest & there's a media ban...can anybody hear?

We did have one ace up our sleeve. Despite the media ban in the sterile zone a BBC cameraperson that we trusted had managed to stake out in a house in the town & could secretly film our action from a window as long as we could get positioned on the road in his narrow line of sight. It was pretty chancy – but it was all we had.

We listened to a live radio broadcast announcing the progress

of Bush's Helicopter. When it touched down & Bush's car was driving up the empty Hillsborough street, we came out from hiding & died in on the road. Stripping off to reveal anti-war messages on our t-shirts & sporting US/UK skull & crossbones masks. Cops dragged us off the road but didn't arrest off, we kept trying to get back on... They restrained some of us, & utilised some heavy gripping (& nipping) techniques but surprisingly didn't arrest anyone.

In all the excitement I'm not even sure that I saw Bush's car (he certainly didn't stop to say hello...) The cops began to threaten us with arrest & we started moving down the street slowly (in some being pushed by riot cops – continually nipping & squeezing our arms & backs) to the bottom of the street where a group of around 30 protestors had made it through the 'ring of steel' & had been cordoned off by police.

I think we all felt a little disappointed after the action. We had achieved a lot, but in the face of the attack on Iraq, it seemed pretty futile. We weren't sure if 'our man on the inside' from the BBC got any footage & anyway it couldn't be broadcast that evening, as he wasn't permitted inside the 'sterile zone'.

However the next day the media coverage was awesome. It was edited together really nicely, was slanted very much in our favour. The piece started with sanctioned footage & rhetoric about the 'ring of steel' & 'sterile zone' with images of police & military creating fences & barricades & 'sealing off the area' then Bush's car rolling up the empty town & cut to our 'die in' on the road, the story being 'Protestors penetrate ring of steel'. It was beautiful, & made a big international news story.

I guess in this action we learnt a lot. And in some ways managed to pull off a lot more on 3 days notice than when sometimes we've had months of planning. Our 'success' was a combination of a 'have a go attitude', some lucky breaks, some good planning, & an already established network for people wanting to take actions to tap into. The good media contact was pretty integral to this action & this was something a few of our crew had cultured over some time. Without being naïve about corporate media* on occasion (this action being one example) we can use it to our own advantage.

*We were described by the same BBC as a 'group of militant anarchists hi-jacking a peaceful protest' for our next action the following day. & I'm not sure they meant it as a compliment...

The next day...

Jam the war

April 8 2003 Belfast City

A strategy we'd been maintaining throughout the 'war' was to have a colourful autonomous presence at the bigger anti-war events & marches... we'd been bringing colour, music food & theatre & inviting people at marches to join us in gatherings & actions. Although the big anti-war coalitions were really good at getting people on the streets, the marches usually

ended in the ritual of speeches, which we felt often sapped a lot of energy rather than inspiring further action against war.

It was in this spirit that we intended to support the Stop The War Coalition 'die-in' outside Belfast City Hall on the second day of the summit. We had a theme for an action we wanted to carry out at the American consulate that involved 14 kilos of strawberry Jam. We formed an affinity group called Jam Spreaders Against The War adorned white chemical suits with large pictures of strawberries & raspberries on the back with the words 'Jam The War' 'Preserve Peace.' The plan being to make a procession to the consulate after the die-in inviting anyone that wanted to join & smear the consulate in jam....

Everything was going to plan. We had our props & jam. Legal support was go. Lawyers on standby. Only thing was there were only two of us at the meeting point in the morning going 'where the fuck is everyone' & lamenting the decision to have an antiwar fundraising party the night before an action.

Time was ticking by... People started to arrive at the meeting point at just about the time the die-in was supposed to start. We were about 10 minutes away & 10 of us got suited up & rushed towards the City Hall hoping we'd make it by the seat of our pants...

The 'official' die-in had just ended when we arrived & a number of individuals had begun to get onto the road to block the streets in front of City Hall. Members of the Stop the War Coalition & the police tried to encourage them back onto the footpath.

So I guess the fact that most of our motley crew where feckless latecomers with hangovers paid a pivotal role in the events of the day. A crew of us rocking up, suited up, drumming & dancing in the middle of the road, (coinciding with the arrival of the riot squad) was just the catalyst anyone with any hesitation needed & around 200 people spilled onto the road to block one of the main Belfast City streets.

One Stop The War Coalition steward (The Northern Ireland Campaigner for Amnesty International) was shouting at us with a megaphone 'we don't want to see any violence here', as the great bastion of human rights the PSNI (former RUC) riot squad got in line to baton school kids, a blind man, & a whole host of peaceful protestors locking arms.

There wasn't any real strategy in blocking off the street, & there hadn't even been a plan. It was just a real emotional outpouring of anger & dissent, a general air of civil disobedience, to show non-complicity with Bush & Blair's hypocritical visit to our city.

Our group formed a line against the line of riot cops, not to physically fight but to keep our space, stop them moving forward & to show defiance. When the cops grabbed 4 of us we used passive resistance, to slow down the cops. Passive resistance is refusing to co-operate with the cops, going floppy, refusing to walk, & generally withdrawing from the situation.

from the police's actions. It took around 16 cops to carry 4 of us.

Behind the lines of riot cops & land rovers there was obvious confusion amongst the police, & we used this to our advantage. My buddy & I demanded to know if we were being arrested & if so what was the charge, to which the cops kinda dithered. We told them if they were not arresting us they couldn't detain us & started walking away. Grabbing 2 more of our friends we got out of there. The police half-heartedly tried to stop us; but they just didn't really know how to react. (That's a useful problem with hierarchy if there's no direct order from above, the cops sometimes don't know how to act). We ran back around the side of the police line & got back down to blockading... I was soon dragged off, but again 'escaped' from behind the police line & rejoined the blockade. Third time was not so lucky. When they dragged me out they threw me in the back of a van.

OK; so as I spent the rest of the afternoon in a police van & cell the following 2 paragraphs are pieced together from video footage & legend...

It wasn't looking likely that our 'jam action' was gonna happen at the American Consulate. A riot cop spotted that one of our crew had a suspicious bin bag, & demanded to have it. Although he received a reply in the negative he proceeded to try & grab the bag... A small explosion followed & showers of strawberry jam rained down on cops & jam spreaders covering them in a red sticky mess that sent a gasp of shock through the crowd. It was a tense few seconds until somebody shouted 'It's Jam'.

With so many police in Hillsborough it was obvious the police didn't have the resources to 'deal with' a large-scale display of civil disobedience in Belfast city centre. There were 14 people in custody & they seemed reluctant to arrest any more. Around 400 people now blockaded the streets linking arms singing & chanting. The footage of what happened next is beautiful. The riot cops fall back, & are replaced with a line of regular cops. The cops look shifty & embarrassed & start to walk & shuffle backwards in formation, backing away from the blockade they get in their land rovers & drive away. Leaving behind a blockaded street of jubilant protesters dancing & singing, & drumming... before a large section headed off through the streets to the police station to support those arrested.

Being arrested can be pretty scary. But y'know if you've prepared for it. You're in the back of a paddy wagon with old & new friends. When there's people on the outside doing legal support & it's been part of a creative action, getting arrested is almost kinda fun*... We were singing rocking the van getting to know each other (several people I've never met before & have subsequently become friends with & been involved in organising actions). When the demo left from City Hall & marched through the city to the police station it was hilarious

to see the cops freaking out & running to close the gates. They knew they were under siege.

**(Not to underplay the huge power of repression that states have & frequently use to intimidate, coerce, & inflict violence on anyone perceived as a threat to social order, or the role of social privileges in determining the kind of 'treatment' many people receive from police).*

Having spent the most part of the afternoon alone in a dank police cell it was really nice to see friends still waiting patiently outside with hugs & kisses & food... I think it was about 5.30 or something & we had just enough time to make it to nearby bus station to watch the evening news. I think we caused a stir as we sat applauding the TV. Out of the 5 or so headlines we made up 3... From the night before inside the 'ring of steel', the blockade at City Hall, & some of our friends had managed to get inside Hillsborough again & disrupt the press conference. It was pretty cool...

Whilst we celebrated these actions as victories, the motives behind our actions were not forgotten. Untold death & destruction has been inflicted upon the people of Iraq. The lives of real people have been calculated as acceptable collateral damage as politicians such as Bush & Blair play politics & smile at the cameras. Binding order, fines, prison sentences or any other form of state repression will not deter us from speaking out & taking action against injustices such as the 'war' waged on the Iraqi people.

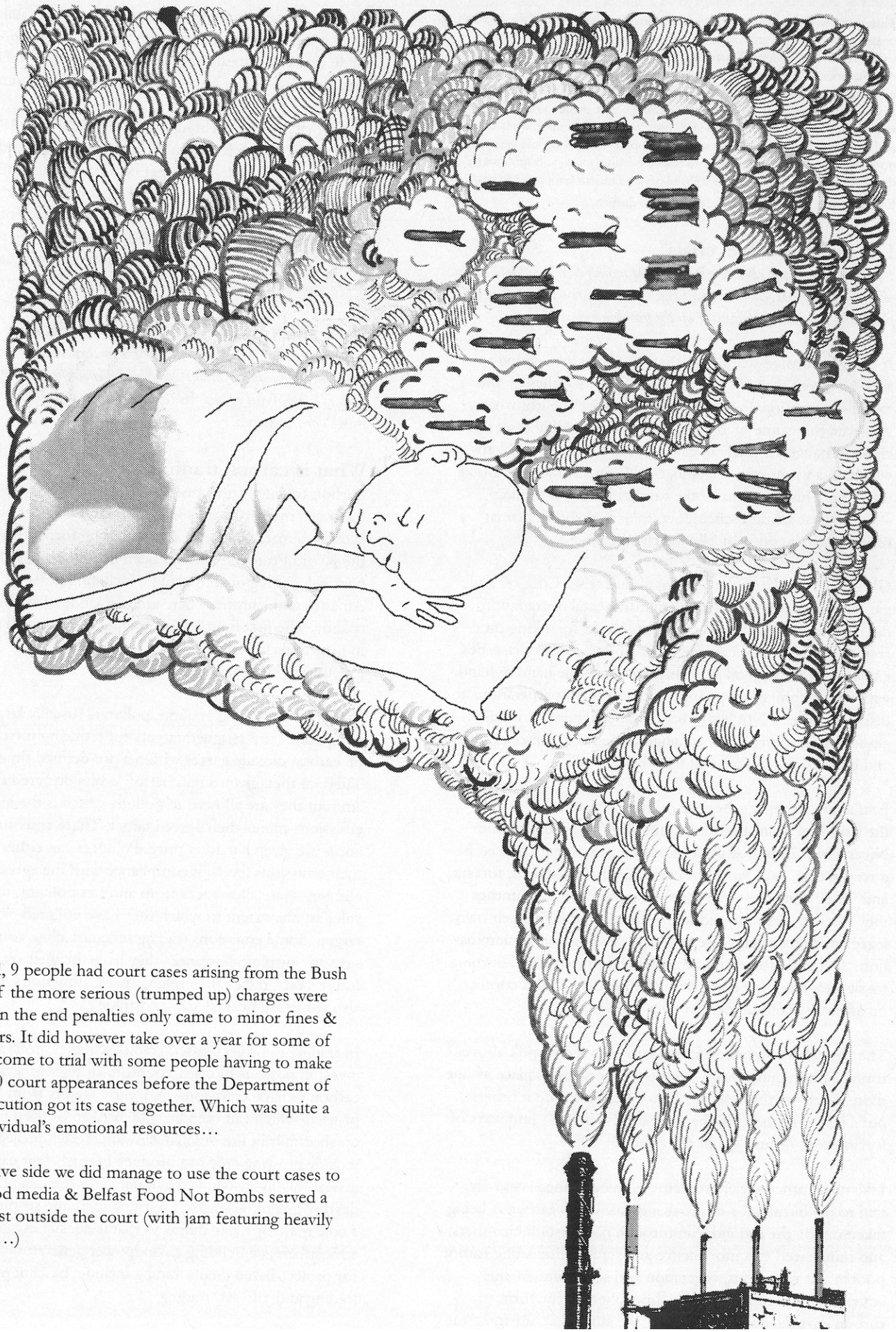
Post Script:

A couple of things arose out of this action worthy of note. The first being the ramifications with the Stop The War Coalition. The aim of our action was always to support the 'Die In' whilst at the same time inviting participants to take part in a subsequent action that we considered to have a more radical edge. We had no wish to create any confrontation with STWC. However STWC released a press release stating that we 'hi-jacked their peaceful demo' playing directly into the media/state dichotomy of 'good protestor/bad protestor'...

Whilst expecting this kind of behaviour from certain socialist parties, we did find this pretty disappointing, & more importantly dangerous as it makes it easier for the state to treat some people's opposition as legitimate & others illegitimate & is tantamount to giving a green light to the state to repress certain kinds of action/activist.

On the positive side there was widespread discontent within the STWC about this press statement, & quite a few grassroots NGO's & individuals threatened to resign (not least some members of STWC who'd been arrested whilst blocking the road!) In the end they accepted to retract the statement.

The other thing worthy of note was the court cases. Charges were blocking a public highway, resisting arrest, breach of the peace, assaulting a police officer, & the obscure 'malicious



sitting'. In all, 9 people had court cases arising from the Bush visit. Most of the more serious (trumped up) charges were dropped, & in the end penalties only came to minor fines & binding orders. It did however take over a year for some of the cases to come to trial with some people having to make more than 10 court appearances before the Department of Public Prosecution got its case together. Which was quite a drain on individual's emotional resources...

On the positive side we did manage to use the court cases to get some good media & Belfast Food Not Bombs served a great breakfast outside the court (with jam featuring heavily on the menu...)

CARBON TRADING: NEOLIBERALISM'S MARKET-FIX FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

This article has been edited and adapted from a report issued by the Swedish organization Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, entitled 'Carbon Trading: A Critical Conversation on Climate Change, Privatisation and Power'. Given that the original report is 362 pages long, a whole lot of interesting and important stuff has been cut out in order to produce what you have sitting in your hands right now. This is not a comprehensive guide to carbon trading, but hopefully it serves to introduce some of the important issues and critiques. If you want to get yourself properly learned-up, maybe check out the full report (you don't have to read the whole thing) at <http://www.dhf.uu.se/>, or have a look at the website of the Durban Group for Climate Justice at <http://www.carbontradewatch.org/durban/>.

I. A new fossil fuel crisis

In which the growing climate crisis is traced mainly to the mining of coal, oil and gas; the dangers to survival and livelihood are outlined; and the political nature and implications of the problem explored.

It is now accepted worldwide that the globe is warming to such an extent that the livelihoods of large swathes of the world's population are under serious threat. The irony is, however, that some of the responses to the global threat of climate change are likely to cause new and severe problems, which, in a worst-case scenario, could actually increase global warming. This seems to be the case with carbon trading – a grandiose market scheme set up as the world's primary response to the crisis of climate change.

Global warming isn't the first fossil fuel crisis. Coal, oil and gas have been associated with environmental degradation, damaged lives, debt, social conflict and war for a long time, resulting in sustained campaigns of opposition. For decades, exploration for new oil and gas fields has gone hand in hand with encroachment on people's land and with preparations to dispossess them. Not least, the militarised quest of industrialised societies for oil has endangered security, poisoned lives and blighted politics around the world.

Extraction has also provoked creative resistance all over the world, as, from Ecuador to the Russian Far East, from Nigeria to Burma, fossil fuel corporations, usually backed by governments, have stolen or contaminated local land, forests and water while massively increasing the debt of countries they work in. Refining and transport have brought their own legacy of impairment, disease, dispossession and contamination. And pollution from industrial and power plants burning fossil fuels has left a mark of suffering, disease and conflict on affected communities for over 150 years.

The struggle to stabilise climate – to stop the world's above-ground carbon dump from overflowing – takes its place as one more aspect of this long history of conflict. And it brings out a lesson encoded in that history: the need to find ways of leaving coal, oil and gas in the ground.

Like many other social problems, climate change is closely tied to the burning of oil, coal and gas. Fossil carbon is being taken out of the ground, run through combustion chambers, and transferred to a more active and rapidly circulating carbon pool in the air, oceans, vegetation and soil. Some of this active carbon builds up in the atmosphere in the form of carbon dioxide, trapping more of the sun's heat, warming the

earth and destabilising the climate. The carbon build-up – up to 90 per cent of which has come from the North – has been made worse, especially over the last century, by unchecked land clearance and the spread of industrial agriculture.

The North is overwhelmingly responsible. From 1950 to 1986, the US, with less than 5 per cent of the world's population, was responsible for 30 per cent of its cumulative greenhouse gas emissions. India, with 17 per cent of the world's population, was responsible for less than 2 per cent. So any attempt to keep fossil fuels in the ground is going to have to tackle industrialised societies' addiction to fossil fuels and the energy-profligate ways of living they have made possible.

II. A short history of carbon trading

In which the surprising story is told of how corporations, academics, governments, United Nations agencies and environmentalists united around a neoliberal or 'market' approach to climate change emanating from North America.

What is carbon trading?

Carbon trading is one aspect of the wider use of pollution trading, a market-based solution to environmental problems such as climate change. Carbon trading forms the basis of the Kyoto Protocol, and has been implemented in various national and regional initiatives, including those in North America and Europe. There are two kinds of carbon trading. The first is emissions trading. The second is trading in project-based credits. Often the two categories are put together in hybrid trading systems.

In emissions trading systems, polluters (usually large companies), are assigned targets for reducing their emissions of carbon dioxide gasses within a pre-defined time period. They are then given a number of 'emissions credits' for the amount they are allowed to pollute, which is the level of their emissions minus their agreed target. These emissions allowances are given a market price. Polluters can either reduce their emissions levels in compliance with the agreed targets, or else buy spare allowances from another polluter, to the market value of the extent to which they have polluted over their target. Some emissions trading schemes allow companies to save any surplus allowances they have for their own use in future years, rather than selling them. Emissions' trading is also sometimes called 'cap-and-trade'.

In trading in project-based credits schemes, polluters can invest in projects in other countries or regions which reduce carbon dioxide emissions, and 'earn' credits from these projects which can then be sold, banked or used to make up shortfalls in the original allowance. Such projects might include growing crops to produce biofuels that can be used instead of oil; installing machinery at a chemical factory to destroy greenhouse gases; burning methane seeping out of a coal mine or waste dump so that it doesn't escape to the atmosphere; or building a windpower generator. Other names for project-based credit trading include 'baseline-and-credit' trading and 'off set' trading.

Early history of the market fix

The market fix for global warming could not have become so dominant if it came out of nowhere. Part of its success is owed to the fact that it is part of a larger, more longstanding historical wave of neoliberalism. Attempting to integrate trading systems worldwide, neoliberalism reorganises property rights systems and fights regulation in an attempt to reduce the power of national governments, labour unions and local communities over corporate activity.

Justifying neoliberalism is an ideology of 'efficiency' developed over decades, largely in the think tanks, academic economics departments, international agencies and government ministries of Anglo-America. The ideology revolves around the claim that society as a whole will benefit if it 'makes the most' out of whatever stuff is available to it.

On a neoliberal view, you first divide all your stuff into a lot of different bits. This isn't always so easy. The categories the bits are divided into don't always reflect the categories people use to live their lives. For example, you might be forced to divide your land into 'permanent forests' and 'permanent fields' even if you're a member of an indigenous group that doesn't demarcate land this way and instead uses some areas as woodland during some periods and as fields during others. Or you might be forced to divide your activities into 'labour', 'housework' and 'leisure', even though you're not used to looking at things that way either. It's a bit like taking a picture and sawing it into a jigsaw puzzle. You wind up with a lot of odd-shaped pieces with a bit of blue sky and cloud here and half an eye or a piece of a house over there.

You transform all these jigsaw puzzle pieces into 'resources' and 'commodities', and then you shuffle all the pieces together with a view to finding out who should get them and what new thing can be made out of them as a whole. Crudely speaking, you see which way of distributing, using, keeping or destroying your bits makes the most money. That's how you find out how to make the most out of the stuff you have.

The fusing of neoliberalism and climate change policy is largely due to the contribution of Ronald Coase, a University of Chicago economist who wrote a series of influential articles in the middle of the last century. Coase's idea was that a pollution dump is just another jigsaw puzzle piece – just another resource or commodity. The right to pollute is a factor of production just like the right to use land. In both cases, exercising your right naturally entails that some losses will be suffered elsewhere. The only question is how significant those losses are.

To find out how best to use a pollution dump, you put it on the market together with the other bits you've created – like real estate, water, labour, rice, silver, forests, jet planes and mobile phones. If that means a lot of pollution, so be it. But there's no need to worry that there will be 'too much' pollution, because if the society got too polluted, you wouldn't get the best value out of other goods – your labourers might die, for example – and 'total product' would

decline. The perfect market will select against that, automatically 'optimising' pollution so that there's neither too little nor too much.

In the 1980s, academics advocated market fixes as cost-effective alternatives to regulations that would have required more technological change. A backlash against the environmental regulation of the 1970s encouraged business to team up with some Washington-based NGOs to formulate trading legislation. In the increasingly strident neoliberal political climate of the 1980s and 1990s, pollution trading became more and more fashionable. By the early 1990s, with the blessing of the Clinton regime, pollution trading was poised for its leap into the climate arena. In an atmosphere of privatisation, the thing to do seemed to be to privatise the atmosphere.

Pollution trading itself is no corporate conspiracy, but rather a joint invention of civil society, business and the state. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been nearly as prominent in its development as private corporations. An astonishing range of institutions from private companies to UN agencies, university departments and NGOs are now aligned around an agenda characterised by rejection of precaution, inability to come to terms with indeterminacy and irreversibility, insistence that tradeoffs are always possible, and support for growth in corporate power.

III. Lessons unlearned

In which carbon trading, contrary to slogans about the universal effectiveness of markets in dealing with environmental and social problems, is shown to be ill suited to addressing climate change.

Property rights and privatisation

In any trading system, traders need to own what they sell. Pollution traders are no exception.

The very 'basis of emissions trading,' says former World Bank chief economist Sir Nicholas Stern, 'is assigning property rights to emitters, and then allowing these to be traded'. Under a scheme advocated by many economists, these property rights are sold to polluters by government. Under a scheme backed by many environmentalists, they are given to a trust, which sells them to polluters at intervals and distributes the revenue to citizens. But under most real world trading schemes, including US pollution trading programmes, the Kyoto Protocol and the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, they are given to a selection of historical polluters – wealthy countries and companies – for free. So carbon dioxide emissions trading schemes are putting more and more rights – and more and more power over climate – in private polluters' hands.

Emissions trading vs. structural change

The question here is whether emissions trading schemes, particularly as they are currently designed, add any incentives for the particular kinds of change most needed to combat global warming. Are they, as many governments, businesses and large environmental NGOs claim, the 'best option for the world to make a transition to a low-carbon economy'?

In fact, emissions markets are structurally biased against the kind of radical change needed to tackle global warming. As the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Jo'Burg Memo observes, the 'polluter pays' principle has been turned into a 'polluter buys his way out' principle. Decarbonisation will not really take place in this manner, since the resource base of Northern economies is not being restructured.

No empirical evidence exists that current greenhouse gas trading programmes are functioning as transitional solutions on the way to a fossil carbon-free future. In fact, all the available evidence is on the other side. Major oil corporations such as BP and Shell, both enthusiastic initiators of internal trading schemes, have never voiced any serious intention to curb their main activities of oil exploration or production at any time. Although it has changed its name to 'Beyond Petroleum', BP committed itself in 2002 to expand its oil and gas output by 5.5 per cent per year over the succeeding five years. Its emissions in 2001 were equivalent to almost two years' carbon dioxide emissions from the UK.²⁰⁵ The firm's investment in renewable energy remains at a mere 1 per cent of the USD 8 billion it spends on fossil fuel exploration and production every year.

IV. Off-sets – The fossil economy's new arena of conflict

In which it is shown how projects designed to 'compensate' for continued fossil fuel use are helping to dispossess ordinary people of their land, water, air – and futures.

There is only one-way of addressing the climate crisis: to keep most remaining coal, oil and gas in the ground. To find a democratic way of doing so quickly seems a tall order in a world whose industrial societies are ever more dependent on fossil energy. Political and business leaders, experts and even many NGOs, while increasingly alarmed, even despairing, about climate change, have so far shown few signs of facing up to the end of the fossil era.

But there is at least one group – and a very large one – for whom the idea of leaving coal, oil and gas in the ground is not necessarily a revolutionary concept. These are people whose lives, livelihoods and land have already been damaged or devastated by fossil fuel exploration, extraction, refining, transport, use and all the institutions that surround them. For this group, the struggle to stabilise climate – to stop the world's aboveground carbon dump from overflowing – is likely to look like only one chapter in a much longer and broader history. When indigenous peoples who have lost their lands through oil drilling meet others whose Arctic hunting grounds are falling victim to climate change, when communities battling the construction of gas pipelines that would pass over their common lands encounter fenceline communities whose children's health is ruined by air pollution from refineries or power plants, when opponents of airport expansion meet impoverished city dwellers who have lost their neighborhoods to a hurricane strengthened by warming subtropical waters, awareness cannot but grow that, despite their differences, all such communities are facing a common struggle.

In order to generate carbon credits from trees or energy crops, plantation companies have to maintain their hold on land that ordinary people may need for other purposes. In order to generate carbon credits from burning the methane bubbling out of landfill sites, authorities have to fight to keep them open. In order to keep track of the carbon their agroforestry schemes generate, rural development organisations have to divert resources from their traditional work. In order to get carbon credits for halting flaring, oil companies have to go on drilling and polluting. And all the while, new strip mines continue to be opened, oil continues to be spilled, and chemical pollutants continue to waft over power-generating plants. Every Clean Development Mechanism or Joint Implementation project set up under the Kyoto Protocol, or 'carbon off set' scheme launched by a private firm, helps perpetuate the fatal flow of fossil carbon out of the ground and into the air just as surely as any drill bit or transcontinental pipeline.

The fossil fuel economy's new frontier, in short, has become a new battlefield. Added to classic local conflicts over extraction, pollution, and labour abuse are now, increasingly, local conflicts over 'carbon off sets' – the projects that license and excuse the extraction, the pollution and the abuse. At first glance, these new conflicts may seem to be only indirectly connected to fossil fuels. People fighting industrial tree plantations in Brazil, for example, may never catch a whiff of the hydrocarbons whose release in Scotland the plantations are supposed to justify and excuse. But the struggle of the exploited community in Brazil and the polluted community in Scotland are, in a sense, one. In discovering the other's struggle, each, in a sense, rediscovers its own. The Kyoto Protocol and other carbon market schemes springing up around the world, in globalising the defence of fossil fuels in a new way, are also globalising conflicts and movements over fossil fuels in a new way.

V. Ways forward

In which the claim that 'there is no alternative' to carbon trading is dissected and set aside, and emerging alliances for a more democratic and effective climate politics are explored.

There are multiple ways in which climate change and fossil fuel dependency could be effectively and sustainably addressed. First, sweeping public works programmes could help reorganize Northern societies' infrastructure away from fossil fuel dependency in a way that pollution trading and taxes are incapable of doing. Such programmes could, for example, revamp transport systems; decentralize electricity networks to make them more efficient, reliable, secure and receptive to solar, wind and micro-hydro power; and help overhaul inefficient heating systems. Phasing out subsidies for fossil fuel exploration, extraction, refining, transport and use is a second climate-friendly structural shift that cannot be made through trading schemes but only through collective decision-making.

Powerful enough political movements could shift such towards a coherent programme of, for example: renewable

energy development; community-based planning for lower-carbon lifestyles; support for local movements protecting land, forests and smallholder agriculture; better insulation and heating; promotion of public debate and exchange on climate change; and just treatment for those who would otherwise suffer from the transition to less carbon-intensive industry, including fossil fuel workers and the poor.

In the South as well as the North, community-level or popular strategies of proven worth in fostering climatic stability also need to be better recognised by environmentalists and systematically strengthened instead of being penalised and undermined by national governments, the World Bank, export credit agencies, the World Trade Organization and so on. For example:

- Networks protecting community forests, other local commons and low-input swidden or integrated farming systems (increasingly supplemented with biogas energy production) are a powerful force against climatically destabilising land clearance, commercial logging, high-input intensive agriculture and long-distance food transport.
- Movements against trade liberalisation, privatisation and commodification worldwide help to slow growth in unnecessary transport and protect local subsistence regimes against threats from fossil fuel-intensive sectors.
- Popular movements against oil wars, gas and oil pipelines, fossil fuel extraction, power plant pollution and airport and highway expansion also help curb extraction of fossil fuels.
- It is increasingly clear that small renewable energy sources over which local communities have power, whether off-grid or on-grid, are becoming a cheap alternative to fossil fuel-oriented centralized generating systems in many areas of the South.

Pollution trading is a completely new idea, recently pushed on the world by a small circle of neoliberal institutions in the US. Pollution trading's main appeal is that it promises to save money for the rich over the short term. As a pollution control policy, it has a bad to indifferent record in the very few places it's been tried, and is sure to fail elsewhere if the pollutant involved is that slippery, ubiquitous compound called carbon dioxide. By contrast, many so-called 'alternative' approaches are of extremely long standing, have a range of beneficial effects, and have a prior record of some success across a range of societies and issues. Most striking of all, many are already being widely used.

That raises the question: why should anyone use the word 'alternative' to refer to these approaches, while speaking as if carbon trading were a 'mainstream' strategy? Carbon trading is not, in fact, part of most climate policy proposals. It is not what people are mainly relying on in their efforts to tackle climate change. It's not the only initiative that has teeth and not 'what we have to work with'. On the contrary, it's a dubious sideshow that's wasted a great deal of time because it's been treated as a main event. It may appeal to Northern advisers at international financial institutions under pressure to offer single 'silver bullet' solutions to global problems. But it's not working, and clearing it out of the way would be one

good first step towards more constructive action.

Climate Justice Now!

The Durban Declaration on Carbon Trading

As representatives of people's movements and independent organisations, we reject the claim that carbon trading will halt the climate crisis. The mining of fossil fuels and the release of their carbon to the oceans, air, soil and living things have caused this crisis more than anything else. This excessive burning of fossil fuels is now jeopardising Earth's ability to maintain a livable climate [...]

We denounce the further delays in ending fossil fuel extraction that are being caused by corporate, government and United Nations' attempts to construct a "carbon market", including a market trading in "carbon sinks".

History has seen attempts to commodify land, food, labour, forests, water, genes and ideas. Carbon trading follows in the footsteps of this history and turns the earth's carbon-cycling capacity into property to be bought or sold in a global market. Through this process of creating a new commodity – carbon – the Earth's ability and capacity to support a climate conducive to life and human societies is now passing into the same corporate hands that are destroying the climate. People around the world need to be made aware of this commodification and privatization and actively intervene to ensure the protection of the Earth's climate.

Carbon trading will not contribute to achieving this protection of the Earth's climate. It is a false solution, which entrenches and magnifies social inequalities in many ways [...]

- Impacts from fossil-fuel industries and other greenhouse-gas producing industries such as displacement, pollution, or climate change, are already disproportionately felt by small island states, coastal peoples, indigenous peoples, local communities, fisher folk, women, youth, poor people, elderly and marginalized communities [...]
- The refusal to phase out the use of coal, oil and gas, which is further entrenched by carbon trading, is also causing more and more military conflicts around the world, magnifying social and environmental injustice. This in turn diverts vast resources to military budget which could otherwise be utilized to support economies based on renewable energies an energy efficiency [...]

'Giving carbon a price' will not prove to be any more effective, democratic, or conducive to human welfare, than giving genes, forests, biodiversity or clean rivers a price. We reaffirm that drastic reductions in emissions from fossil fuel use are a pre-requisite if we are to avert the climate crisis. We affirm our responsibility to coming generations to seek real solutions that are viable and truly sustainable and that do not sacrifice marginalized communities. We therefore commit ourselves to help build a global grassroots movement for climate justice, mobilize communities around the world and pledge our solidarity with people opposing carbon trading on the ground..

- Signed 10 Oct 04, Durban, Sth. Africa

WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN

Australia's forests have been a hotbed of debate for as long as industrial logging has been active in this country. With up to 90% of our Old Growth and High Conservation Value (HCV) forest woodchipped for overseas markets, such as Japan, it is an internationally driven and dictated market. So while Australia comes to grips with one of the world's worst species extinction rates, water crisis and soil degradation, our federal and state governments continue to rationalise the clear felling and wood chipping of the remaining 8% of old growth and HCV forests for the pulp and paper merchants.

Tasmania has long been one of the countries worst offenders in logging and chipping for the insatiable woodchip market, and despite a raft of promises for protection and industry restructuring towards 'sustainable' practices the logging and chipping grows every year. With the plans by wood chipping, and lawsuit issuing, company Gunns Ltd to build a pulp mill in the state, the rate of woodchipping is estimated to increase by three fold. The fight to protect Tasmania's forest continues in the face of failures and forest protection back flips, a bloody minded state government that is firmly ensconced on the side of the logging industry and a growing culture of litigation by the likes of Gunns against those who speak out.

The case on the *mainland* is not one of abject optimism either; as towns and cities face increasing water restrictions and hardships water catchments around the country continue to be logged. Victoria is in the grips of a state election in which water and logging are at the fore of public debate and demands for policy change. In the face of vehement community demands for the protection of the forests that not only increase rainfall but act as filters and purifiers of water, the Bracks government has remained steadfast in its refusal to cease logging in places such as the Thompson catchment. An area that supplies and filters Melbourne's water supply.

Then there is the long running thorn in the side of many a Victorian Government, East Gippsland. The campaign to stop this truly unique and increasingly rare mix of forest types from being chipped and shipped overseas continues. The summer of 2005-06 was one of the most active and effective in garnering public support and raising awareness, in recent years.

In the face of rising awareness of the links of deforestation with climate change, water crisis and species extinction our federal and state governments continue to parrot the industry line of job security. Any one able to see past their own nose is, by now, aware that without a healthy and robust environment job security is obsolete. The campaigns to protect our forests from woodchipping and short-sighted profit based practices continues in Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and New South Wales.

For more information & to get involved go to:

www.houn.org.au

www.geco.org.au

www.voteenvironment.org.au

www.wafa.org.au



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Chapter 1: Some Facts of Life

"We can comprehend this world only by contesting it as a whole. . . . The root of the prevailing lack of imagination cannot be grasped unless one is able to imagine what is lacking, that is, what is missing, hidden, forbidden, and yet possible, in modern life."

—Situationist International (1)

Utopia or bust

Never in history has there been such a glaring contrast between what could be and what actually exists.

It's hardly necessary to go into all the problems in the world today — most of them are widely known, and to dwell on them usually does little more than dull us to their reality. But even if we are "stoic enough to endure the misfortunes of others," the present social deterioration ultimately impinges on us all. Those who don't face direct physical repression still have to face the mental repressions imposed by an increasingly mean, stressful, ignorant and ugly world. Those who escape economic poverty cannot escape the general impoverishment of life.

And even life at this pitiful level cannot continue for long. The ravaging of the planet by the global development of capitalism has brought us to the point where humanity may become extinct within a few decades.

Yet this same development has made it possible to abolish the system of hierarchy and exploitation that was previously based on material scarcity and to inaugurate a new, genuinely liberated form of society.

Plunging from one disaster to another on its way to mass insanity and ecological apocalypse, this system has developed a momentum that is out of control, even by its supposed masters. As we approach a world in which we won't be able to leave our fortified ghettos without armed guards, or even go outdoors without applying sunscreen lest we get skin cancer, it's hard to take seriously those who advise us to beg for a few reforms.

What is needed, I believe, is a worldwide participatory-democracy revolution that would abolish both capitalism and the state. This is admittedly a big order, but I'm afraid that nothing less can get to the root of our problems. It may seem absurd to talk about revolution; but all the alternatives assume the continuation of the present system, which is even more absurd.

Some exemplary modern revolts

Is such a revolution likely? The odds are probably against it. The main problem is that there is not much time. In previous eras it was possible to imagine that, despite all humanity's follies and disasters, we would somehow muddle through and

perhaps eventually learn from past mistakes. But now that social policies and technological developments have irrevocable global ecological ramifications, blundering trial and error is not enough. We have only a few decades to turn things around. And as time passes, the task becomes more difficult: the fact that basic social problems are scarcely even faced, much less resolved, encourages increasingly desperate and delirious tendencies toward war, fascism, ethnic antagonism, religious fanaticism and other forms of mass irrationality, deflecting those who might potentially work toward a new society into merely defensive and ultimately futile holding actions.

But most revolutions have been preceded by periods when everyone scoffed at the idea that things could ever change. Despite the many discouraging trends in the world, there are also some encouraging signs, not least of which is the widespread disillusionment with previous false alternatives. Many popular revolts in this century have already moved spontaneously in the right direction. I am not referring to the "successful" revolutions, which are without exception frauds, but to less known, more radical efforts. Some of the most notable examples are Russia 1905, Germany 1918-19, Italy 1920, Asturias 1934, Spain 1936-37, Hungary 1956, France 1968, Czechoslovakia 1968, Portugal 1974-75 and Poland 1980-81; many other movements, from the Mexican revolution of 1910 to the recent anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, have also contained exemplary moments of popular experimentation before they were brought under bureaucratic control.

No one is in any position to dismiss the prospect of revolution who has not carefully examined these movements. To ignore them because of their "failure" is missing the point. (2) Modern revolution is all or nothing: individual revolts are bound to fail until an international chain reaction is triggered that spreads faster than repression can close in. It's hardly surprising that these revolts did not go farther; what is inspiring is that they went as far as they did. A new revolutionary movement will undoubtedly take new and unpredictable forms; but these earlier efforts remain full of examples of what can be done, as well as of what must be avoided.

Some common objections

It's often said that a stateless society might work if everyone were angels, but due to the perversity of human nature some hierarchy is necessary to keep people in line. It would be truer to say that if everyone were angels the present system might work tolerably well (bureaucrats would function honestly, capitalists would refrain from socially harmful ventures even if they were profitable). It is precisely because people are not angels that it's necessary to eliminate the setup that enables some of them to become very efficient devils. Lock a hundred people in a small room with only one air hole and they will claw each other to death to get to it. Let them out and they may manifest a rather different nature. As one of the May 1968 graffiti put it, "Man is neither Rousseau's noble savage nor the Church's depraved sinner. He is violent when oppressed, gentle when free."

Others contend that, whatever the ultimate causes may be, people are now so screwed up that they need to be psychologically or spiritually healed before they can even conceive of creating a liberated society. In his later years Wilhelm Reich came to feel that an "emotional plague" was so firmly embedded in the population that it would take generations of healthily raised children before people would become capable of a libertarian social transformation; and that meanwhile one should avoid confronting the system head-on since this would stir up a hornet's nest of ignorant popular reaction.

Irrational popular tendencies do sometimes call for discretion. But powerful though they may be, they are not irresistible forces. They contain their own contradictions. Clinging to some absolute authority is not necessarily a sign of faith in authority; it may be a desperate attempt to overcome one's increasing doubts (the convulsive tightening of a slipping grip). People who join gangs or reactionary groups, or who get caught up in religious cults or patriotic hysteria, are also seeking a sense of liberation, connection, purpose, participation, empowerment. As Reich himself showed, fascism gives a particularly vigorous and dramatic expression to these basic aspirations, which is why it often has a deeper appeal than the vacillations, compromises and hypocrisies of liberalism and leftism.

In the long run the only way to defeat reaction is to present more forthright expressions of these aspirations, and more authentic opportunities to fulfill them. When basic issues are forced into the open, irrationalities that flourished under the cover of psychological repression tend to be weakened, like disease germs exposed to sunlight and fresh air. In any case, even if we don't prevail, there is at least some satisfaction in fighting for what we really believe, rather than being defeated in a posture of hesitancy and hypocrisy.

There are limits on how far one can liberate oneself (or raise liberated children) within a sick society. But if Reich was right to note that psychologically repressed people are less capable of envisioning social liberation, he failed to realize how much the process of social revolt can be psychologically liberating. (French psychiatrists are said to have complained about a significant drop in the number of their customers in the aftermath of May 1968!)

The notion of total democracy raises the specter of a "tyranny of the majority." Majorities can be ignorant and bigoted, there's no getting around it. The only real solution is to confront and attempt to overcome that ignorance and bigotry. Keeping the masses in the dark (relying on liberal judges to protect civil liberties or liberal legislators to sneak through progressive reforms) only leads to popular backlashes when sensitive issues eventually do come to the surface.

Examined more closely, however, most instances of majority oppression of minorities turn out to be due not to majority rule, but to disguised minority rule in which the ruling elite plays on whatever racial or cultural antagonisms there may be in order to turn the exploited masses' frustrations against

each other. When people get real power over their own lives they will have more interesting things to do than to persecute minorities.

So many potential abuses or disasters are evoked at any suggestion of a nonhierarchical society that it would be impossible to answer them all. People who resignedly accept a system that condemns millions of their fellow human beings to death every year in wars and famines, and millions of others to prison and torture, suddenly let their imagination and their indignation run wild at the thought that in a self-managed society there might be some abuses, some violence or coercion or injustice, or even merely some temporary inconvenience. They forget that it is not up to a new social system to solve all our problems; it merely has to deal with them better than the present system does — not a very big order.

If history followed the complacent opinions of official commentators, there would never have been any revolutions. In any given situation there are always plenty of ideologists ready to declare that no radical change is possible.



If the economy is functioning well, they will claim that revolution depends on economic crises; if there is an economic crisis, others will just as confidently declare that revolution is impossible because people are too busy worrying about making ends meet. The former types, surprised by the May 1968 revolt, tried to retrospectively uncover the invisible crisis that their ideology insists must have been there. The latter contend that the situationist perspective has been refuted by the worsened economic conditions since that time.

Actually, the situationists simply noted that the widespread achievement of capitalist abundance had demonstrated that guaranteed survival was no substitute for real life. The periodic ups and downs of the economy have no bearing on that conclusion. The fact that a few people at the top have

recently managed to siphon off a yet larger portion of the social wealth, driving increasing numbers of people into the streets and terrorizing the rest of the population lest they succumb to the same fate, makes the feasibility of a postscarcity society less evident; but the material prerequisites are still present.

The economic crises held up as evidence that we need to “lower our expectations” are actually caused by over-production and lack of work. The ultimate absurdity of the present system is that unemployment is seen as a problem, with potentially labor-saving technologies being directed toward creating new jobs to replace the old ones they render unnecessary. The problem is not that so many people don’t have jobs, but that so many people still do. We need to raise our expectations, not lower them. (3)

Increasing dominance of the spectacle

Far more serious than this spectacle of our supposed powerlessness in the face of the economy is the greatly increased power of the spectacle itself, which in recent years has developed to the point of repressing virtually any awareness of pre-spectacle history or anti-spectacle possibilities. Debord’s *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (1988) goes into this new development in detail:

In all that has happened over the last twenty years, the most important change lies in the very continuity of the spectacle. What is significant is not the refinements of the spectacle’s media instrumentation, which had already attained a highly advanced stage of development; it is quite simply that spectacular domination has succeeded in raising an entire generation molded to its laws. . . . Spectacular domination’s first priority was to eradicate historical knowledge in general, beginning with virtually all information and rational commentary on the most recent past. . . . The spectacle makes sure that people are unaware of what is happening, or at least that they quickly forget whatever they may have become aware of. The more important something is, the more it is hidden. Nothing in the last twenty years has been so thoroughly shrouded with official lies as May 1968. . . . The flow of images carries everything before it, and it is always someone else who controls this simplified digest of the perceptible world, who decides where the flow will lead, who programs the rhythm of what is shown into an endless series of arbitrary surprises that leaves no time for reflection . . . isolating whatever is presented from its context, its past, its intentions and its consequences. . . . It is thus hardly surprising that children are now starting their education with an enthusiastic introduction to the Absolute Knowledge of computer language while becoming increasingly incapable of reading. Because reading requires making judgments at every line; and since conversation is almost dead (as will soon be most of those who knew how to converse) reading is the only remaining gateway to the vast realms of pre-spectacle human experience.

In the present text I have tried to recapitulate some basic points that have been buried under this intensive spectacular

repression. If these matters seem banal to some or obscure to others, they may at least serve to recall what once was possible, in those primitive times a few decades ago when people had the quaint, old-fashioned notion that they could understand and affect their own history.

While there is no question that things have changed considerably since the sixties (mostly for the worse), our situation may not be quite as hopeless as it seems to those who swallow whatever the spectacle feeds them. Sometimes it only takes a little jolt to break through the stupor.

Even if we have no guarantee of ultimate victory, such breakthroughs are already a pleasure. Is there any greater game around?

References

- (1) Ken Knabb (ed. and trans.), *Situationist International Anthology* (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981), p. 81 [Geopolitics of Hibernation]. Here and elsewhere I have sometimes slightly modified my original SI Anthology translations.
- (2) “The journalists’ and governments’ superficial references to the ‘success’ or ‘failure’ of a revolution mean nothing for the simple reason that since the bourgeois revolutions no revolution has yet succeeded: not one has abolished classes. Proletarian revolution has not yet been victorious anywhere, but the practical process through which its project manifests itself has already created at least ten revolutionary moments of historic importance that can appropriately be termed revolutions. In none of these moments was the total content of proletarian revolution fully developed, but in each case there was a fundamental interruption of the ruling socioeconomic order and the appearance of new forms and conceptions of real life — variegated phenomena that can be understood and evaluated only in their overall significance, including their potential future significance. . . . The revolution of 1905 did not bring down the Czarist regime, it only obtained a few temporary concessions from it. The Spanish revolution of 1936 did not formally suppress the existing political power: it arose, in fact, out of a proletarian uprising initiated in order to defend the Republic against Franco. And the Hungarian revolution of 1956 did not abolish Nagy’s liberal-bureaucratic government. Among other regrettable limitations, the Hungarian movement had many aspects of a national uprising against foreign domination; and this national-resistance aspect also played a certain, though less important, role in the origin of the Paris Commune. The Commune supplanted Thiers’s power only within the limits of Paris. And the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905 never even took control of the capital. All the crises mentioned here as examples, though deficient in their practical achievements and even in their perspectives, nevertheless produced enough radical innovations and put their societies severely enough in check to be legitimately termed revolutions.” (SI Anthology, pp. 235-236 [Beginning of an Era].)
- (3) “We’re not interested in hearing about the exploiters’ economic problems. If the capitalist economy is not capable of fulfilling workers’ demands, that is simply one more reason to struggle for a new society, one in which we ourselves have the decision-making power over the whole economy and all social life.” (Portuguese airline workers, 27 October 1974.)

